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EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOHS

VOL. I.

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From a Tomb at Thebes now in the British Museum.

A

HISTORY OF EGYPT

UNDER THE PHARAOHS

DERIVED ENTIRELY FROM THE MONUMENTS

BY HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY

32076

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY THE LATE HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR, F.R.G.S.

COMPLETED AND EDITED

BY PHILIP SMITH, B.A.

AUTHOR OF 'THE STUDENT'S ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE EAST'

TO WHICH IS ADDED

A MEMOIR ON THE EXODUS OF THE ISRAELITES AND THE EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS

IN TWO VOLUMES VOL. I.

WITH COLOURED PLATES AND MAPS

LONDON
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1879

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DEDICATED

TO

HIS HIGHNESS ISMAËL PASHA

KHEDIVE OF EGYPT

WITH MOST RESPECTFUL GRATITUDE

BY THE AUTHOR

HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY

PORTRAIT HEAD OF A WOODEN STATUE OF AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN, PROBABLY OF THE TIME OF THE IVTH DYNASTY (ABOUT 3700 B.C.); FOUND AT SAQQARAH, AND NOW IN THE MUSEUM AT BOULAQ.

Height, about 3 feet 8 inches. Engraved from a Photograph.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE History of Egypt now offered to the English reader is distinguished in two respects from the long train of able and interesting works, which, in opening to the last and the present generations the life and story of the Old Egyptians, as by a new revelation, have at the same time thrown a clear and vivid light on many portions of Holy Scripture. The work is as unique in the competence of its Author as in the originality of its design.

After all that has been done since the time when Young and Champollion discovered the key to the vast treasures of contemporary records which till then were a sealed book, it still remained for some competent scholar to undertake the Herculean task of weaving the testimony of the Egyptian records into a consecutive history of the long line of Pharaonic Dynasties, *derived solely from these ancient and authentic sources*, and free of all colouring and intermixture from the traditions given at second-hand by the classic writers,

which find their proper place elsewhere. No second-hand knowledge of the monuments and papyri, however learned or extensive, can be a sufficient qualification for the full and accurate rendering of their testimony. Nothing can suffice, short of that kind of scholarly instinct which is the fruit of a life-long study and comprehensive knowledge of the whole subject matter, based on a personal examination of the original records. These are the qualifications acquired and matured in the mind of Dr. HENRY BRUGSCH-BEY, during his long residence in Egypt and his travels through the length and breadth of the land, with the express object of studying the monuments; qualifications which are shared alone by his friend and colleague, M. MARIETTE-BEY.

A complete account of the origin and plan of the work is given in the Author's Preface, but it may not be superfluous to indicate some points of special novelty and interest, difficult as it is to select them from the whole mass of new and important matter. The Author's long and deep study of Egyptian antiquity in all its bearings has enabled him to draw a true picture of the character and life of the people, the persons and court of the great Pharaohs, the revolutions indicated by the various Dynasties, the hierarchy of the State, and the details of administration, down to the text of official despatches, the names and works of artists and men of letters, and the relations of Egypt to the

neighbouring nations at each critical epoch of her history. He has set in the clearest light many deeply interesting subjects, which have hitherto been only struggling out of obscurity. Such, for example, is the large element of Semitic population in the Delta, and its influence on the Egyptian life and language, in connection with the history of the Shepherd Kings and the relations of the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty to their Hebrew bondsmen. The position and precise office of Joseph, the name, time, and works of the Pharaoh of the oppression, and the Exodus of the Israelites, now take a definite place in Egyptian history, and the localities named in Scripture are determined by evidence of surprising clearness. Such also is the case with the revolutions by which the proud line of Ramses was supplanted by the haughty priests of Thebes, and these driven out, in their turn, by *a real Assyrian conquest of Egypt*, now first made known from contemporary inscriptions. The cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib's grandson, and the hieroglyphic records of the Ethiopian conquerors at Mount Barkal, fill up the story of that interesting period, hinted at in the 'Dodecarchy' of Herodotus, when Lower Egypt, divided among a host of petty kings and *satraps* (whose very names are now recovered), was a shuttle-cock between Assyria and Ethiopia, till we learn the true meaning of its union under Psammetichus. These are but a few points of the history now first put together from the

monuments, down to the thanksgiving of a priest for his preservation in 'the battle of the Ionians', under Alexander, and 'the rout of the Asiatic,' Darius Codomannus.

The present translation of Dr. Brugsch's German original [1] comes before the English reader with some claims for his indulgence. Undertaken by the late Mr. HENRY DANBY SEYMOUR as a labour of love, it was left incomplete at his lamented death, when nearly all the First Volume was printed, and the translation of the Second was carried to the end of Chapter XVI. The Editor has finished the translation, and corrected the press for the whole of the Second Volume. He has also carefully revised the First Volume; and, as two are proverbially better than one, he has naturally found some points in which correction or improvement appeared to him essential; and such necessary alterations will furnish an apology for a somewhat large list of 'Errata.' For the first four chapters, which had been translated from the French before the publication of Dr. Brugsch's new work, the Editor has substituted a fresh translation from the German. For valuable advice on points of difficulty, the Editor is indebted to his old and esteemed friend, Dr. Leonhard Schmitz.

[1] '*Geschichte Ægyptens unter den Pharaonen. Nach den Denkmälern bearbeitet von* Dr. Heinrich Brugsch-Bey. Erste Deutsche Ausgabe. Mit 2 Karten von Unter und Ober-Ægypten und 4 genealogischen Tafeln. Leipzig, 1877.' The Author's Preface explains the relation of this *new work* to the preceding French edition of 1857, of the first part of which (to the end of the Seventeenth Dynasty) a new edition was published in 1875.

In rendering into English Dr. Brugsch's German translations of the Egyptian texts, there has been a two-fold difficulty, chiefly from the obscurity of the originals, and partly also from the archaic German often used by Dr. Brugsch to imitate their style. But it is a special characteristic of Dr. Brugsch's translations, that he generally gives a more complete and grammatically consecutive sense than will be found in most other renderings of the Egyptian texts; his are more, in his own phrase, '*in fliessender Rede*.' Not that he has taken liberties with the originals, to wrest them into sense or to force a meaning out of them; but he uses that intimate acquaintance with the Egyptian language, which becomes almost an instinct when, to use his own words, 'the translator is sure of his subject in its fullest compass.'[1] In this respect the Editor has endeavoured to follow the Author's style of work, making the English represent neither less nor more than the German translations of the Egyptian originals. Nor, in using the further light furnished by other versions of the texts, have their renderings been substituted for those of Dr. Brugsch, except in one or two very rare cases, where explicit warning is given of the liberty taken with our Author's version. The

[1] Vol. II. p. 325–6. The specimen of translation to which these words refer will not only enlighten the reader as to the present state of Egyptian interpretation, but will show him how much it needs a wider and deeper knowledge of the whole subject, beyond the mere rendering of the words.

Editor has had neither time nor opportunity to refer to all the English translations of the texts, which it might be interesting to compare with those of Dr. Brugsch; but he has in every case given references to those contained in the excellent and convenient collection entitled 'Records of the Past.' [1]

Dr. Brugsch's pamphlet of 'Additions and Corrections' was not received till after the First Volume was nearly all printed. From that point they have been incorporated with the text; and the rest are placed at the end of the First Volume.

Dr. Brugsch's 'Discourse on the Exodus of the Israelites and the Egyptian Monuments' is now appended to his 'History,' not merely on account of the striking and original views propounded in it, and the powerful arguments by which they are sustained, but because it gathers into a focus certain statements made in various parts of the 'History' in such a manner as to form almost a necessary complement to the work.

[1] Of this series, published under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Archæology, and edited by Dr. Samuel Birch, ten volumes have appeared up to the present time, the *odd* ones (vols. i., iii., &c.) containing the translations of Assyrian and Chaldæan texts, the *even* ones (vols. ii., iv., vi., viii., and x.) those from the Egyptian.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

It is now twenty years since I ventured on the attempt to lay before the friends and admirers of Egyptian antiquity, in the French language, a History of Egypt under the Pharaohs according to the evidence of the Monuments, in so far as they have been preserved from the earliest times down to our own age. The time seemed to me even then to have come, to turn to account, for the profit of historical enquiry, the written information of the monuments, now interpreted, in opposition to the fabulous and less trustworthy accounts of classical antiquity, and to lay open to professed historians the chief sources, at least, to which science is and will ever remain indebted for a knowledge of the oldest races of men upon the earth. The quick sale with which the whole edition of my modest work was favoured soon after its appearance, in spite of its faults, could not but prove to me that I had met a sensible want in this province of enquiry, by having laboured, to the best of my knowledge and ability, to satisfy the desire generally expressed for an

insight into the rich abundance and the ample contents of the extant monuments and their inscriptions.

During the time which has since elapsed, the whole compass of our knowledge of the monuments has been enlarged beyond anticipation by new excavations and discoveries, and by the advances made in decyphering the inscriptions through the labours of gifted students of the science. Meanwhile the most important remains of Egyptian antiquity have been won from the bosom of the earth, and the most searching investigations have almost completely overcome the last remaining difficulties, which lay as hindrances in the way of understanding the Holy Scriptures.

Under such altered circumstances I could easily understand the wish generally expressed to me on the part of friends and scholars, that I should undertake anew the task of bringing together in one complete picture the historical records of the Pharaonic times, by the help of the latest acquisitions in the scientific knowledge of the monuments; in order also to afford to those admirers of Egyptian antiquity, who are less conversant with these studies, the opportunity of forming their own judgment on the value and the significance of the stone records of the oldest human history. My well-founded hesitation—on the ground that a work so comprehensive, based above all on the explanation and understanding of the superabundant number of texts, would need long years for its com-

pletion—was at last overcome by the urgent request of my publisher, who reminded me of old engagements, and pleaded the constant enquiries for copies of the work, which had been long since exhausted.

Such has been the origin—in the midst of the official labours imposed upon me, almost without intermission, by my duties in the service of that enlightened oriental prince, the present ruler of Egypt—of this first German edition of the History of Egypt under the Pharaohs. Within the space of five years, in Europe, Africa, and America, I have arranged the work on a new plan and carried it to completion, snatching by force every moment of that leisure which the scholar enjoys in his quiet study, yet always inspired with enthusiasm for the time long since passed away, which seemed to me the more attractive the further it is removed from our present life.

In my treatment of the subject, I have given my fullest and almost exclusive attention to the testimony of the monuments; and herein, according to my own view, lies the whole centre of gravity of my work. Claiming neither the vocation nor the ability of a professed historian, I am fain to content myself with the modest and subordinate merit of being a conscientious interpreter of the words of a past age, after having exhausted all means for the right determination of the evidence drawn from the primitive records, which frequent journeys to Upper Egypt have given

me the opportunity of thoroughly examining on the very spot where each is extant. If, as I fear, my exhibition and embodiment of the peculiarly rich materials at my command is affected by the imperfection incident to the task of writing the history of Egypt under the Pharaohs from the beginning to the end, the reader may still find some compensation in acquiring the knowledge of a wealth of primeval records, whose tone and phraseology I have taken pains to render with the greatest possible fidelity. The language of the monuments is simple and unadorned; but there breathes through it the fresh and vigorous air of a high antiquity.

My esteemed colleagues in these studies will not fail to observe that certain views, which I have put forth in the most important portions of my work, are in the most decided opposition to the opinions held by eminent authorities in the province of ancient Egyptian research, and hitherto accepted as incontrovertible facts. For example, I regard the idea, which has hitherto found so much favour, of a Pelasgo-Italian confederacy of nations in the times of Minepthah I. and Ramses III., as a dangerous error, which has been unfortunately introduced into our science, and has already struck its parasitical roots into handbooks of the history of Greece and Italy. In like manner, I regard Ilium, and the Dardanians, Mysians, and Lycians, as powers unknown to the Egyptians of

the fourteenth century, and I have, on the contrary, placed the peoples whose names correspond to these in the highlands about the upper course of the Euphrates. In this province of research, if anywhere, the most careful circumspection is required. The proofs in support of my rectifications of these and similar assumptions and hypotheses I intend speedily to lay before my colleagues, in all their force and completeness, in a separate scientific treatise, which is already prepared for the press.

I commend to my fellow-students, as noteworthy and deserving of thorough examination, the fact which has never before been recognized or established, that the Egyptian monuments of the date of B.C. 1000 and onwards bear witness, for the first time, to a knowledge of the names of Assyrian kings in the Egyptian form of writing, and attest the presence of Assyrian satraps in the Nile valley. PANRSHNS (Parrash-nes, Pallash-nes, Pallash-nisu), Shashanq, Nimrod, Tiglath, Sargon, &c., are real Assyrian persons, who appear henceforward in the closest connection with the history of Egypt.

The numerous translations, which, as I have said, form the special foundation of this work, have been written with the monuments before me, and repeatedly compared with the original texts. In the cases in which I have had to cite former translations and copies, I have not omitted to mention the fact in the text itself

or in a note. A very few such—as, for example, the translation of the long inscription of Pianḫi by the late master of our science, E. de Rougé—have been accessible to me only since the completion of my book; but I have found no occasion to regret my own differences from them in the interpretation and translation of the documents. So much the more do I regret, on the other hand, that the splendid edition of the Harris Papyrus, No. 1—by the publication of which Dr. Birch has again earned for himself and the Trustees of the British Museum the greatest credit for the enrichment of ancient Egyptian learning—only came into my hands, as a present alike costly and valuable for its contents, after this book was printed. For all future time this document, the most important parts of which had only been known to me in extracts, will form the most valuable contribution to the history of the third Ramses.

In conclusion, I esteem it a special obligation of gratitude not to pass over in silence the names of the deserving scholars who, whether by the publication of the monuments, or by the explanation and decyphering of the historical inscriptions, have conferred a lasting service on science, and have thereby contributed in no small measure to lighten the labour of my work. I would especially mention the names of Birch, Chabas, E. and J. de Rougé, Devéria, Dümichen, Ebers, Goodwin, Leemans, Le Page Renouf, Lepsius, Lieblein,

Mariette, Maspero, Naville, Pierret, Pleyte. If, in discussing the historical researches or the translations of texts, for which the learned world is indebted to these scholars, I have expressed a different opinion about some details, I have assuredly not been influenced by the spirit of contradiction, but by the conviction that I may have come nearer the truth. I may here quote the Arabic proverb: 'Honour to the beginner, even though the follower does better.'

To the chronological part of this work I have, of the most deliberate purpose, given a very subordinate attention. In my opinion, everything still remains to be done in this province, so far as relates to the time preceding the twenty-sixth dynasty. On the assumption of Manetho's epitome of the lists of the ancient Egyptian kings as the foundation for determining the numbers, Lepsius has done all that is possible in his Chronology, and has completely exhausted the materials at his command, with astonishing acuteness and great knowledge of the original authorities. But the monuments are now beginning more and more to discredit the numbers of Manetho: compare, for example, his statement of $12+26=38$ years for the reign of Thutmes III., with the 53 years 11 months and 1 day assigned to that king by the monuments. Unless we choose, without any warrant, to strain the indefinitely elastic lists of Manetho at our pleasure, there remains no other course than to wait till some fortunate discovery relieves us

from this dangerous experiment. It appeared to me, therefore, more advisable to refrain from any attempt at exact chronological determinations, and, for the present, to prefer those general methods, about the principle of which I have spoken at the proper place.

I now commit my work to the public, not indeed with the assurance that I have reached the mark for which I strove, but yet in the calm hope of obtaining indulgent and unprejudiced readers, not so much for myself as for the sake of the words repeated from the very lips of the ancient Egyptians, who already, at the distance of forty centuries before our time, esteemed *remembrance* to be the *real life of men.*

H. BRUGSCH.

GÖTTINGEN, *Dec.* 9, 1876.

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[1] In drawing up this Analytical Table of Contents, the Editor has not scrupled to make some minor deviations from the text for the sake of preferable orthography and the correction of small errors.

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[1] On this first introduction of *dates*, the reader should be especially warned against taking them for definite chronological epochs. They represent only an artificial system of *average approximation*, based on *genealogies* (see the Author's Preface), which is followed consistently even when known to be inapplicable in detail, in order not to disturb the *average*. Thus, one generation of 33 years is assigned to the *very short* reign of Thutmes I. (see p. 296), and the same period to the united reigns of his sons, Thutmes II. and Thutmes III., though the latter *alone* reigned nearly 54 years. The system only claims to give accurate results in a *long period*, and for such its truth is remarkable.

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[1] Called by many Egyptologists *Hatasu*.

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[1] A Table of the Annals of Thutmes III. is given at the end of this volume, pp. 475–6.

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Tribute brought by the Kharu or Rutennu; from a Tomb at Thebes and presented to the British Museum by H. Danby Seymour, Esq. . . . . *Frontispiece*

Portrait Head of a Wooden Statue of an Ancient Egyptian, probably of the time of the 4th Dynasty (about 3700 B.C.), found at Saqqarah, and now in the Museum at Boulaq *Back of Dedication*

Map of Upper Egypt . . . . . *At the end*

THE

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

INTRODUCTION.

THE History of Egypt, the names and deeds of its kings and princes, the varied fortunes of the Egyptian race during a course of more than sixty centuries; such is the comprehensive subject of this work. Our purpose is to collect into one view what the monuments and books tell us of the history of this most remarkable land and people on the favoured banks of the Nile, beginning with the first native king MENA, and, if God permit, finishing with the present reigning prince of Egypt, the Khedive ISMAEL PASHA I.

In the first portion of our work, we shall endeavour to portray the historical development of the Egyptians under the rule of the Pharaohs. King Mena will form the starting point of our narrative, and Alexander the Great, the liberator and saviour of Egypt from the yoke of the Persians, its closing epoch.

This part of the work was first published (in French) twenty years ago, when we endeavoured to bring together into one great picture the results of the

examination of the monuments by ourselves as well as others, over the wide field of old Egyptian history. The task, in truth, was not an easy one, and it was certainly beyond our power at a first attempt, especially in a foreign language, not merely to place before enquiring students long lists of kings' names with lifeless numbers attached to them, but, led by the guiding hand of the monuments, to reproduce, if only in a general sketch, yet with the greatest possible truth and likelihood, the life and activity of the old inhabitants of the Nile Valley in the earliest kingdom of the world. To render the task still more difficult, there was added the serious fact, that such monuments as were then known and had been examined by learned men, yielded only a narrow range of information. For the earliest history of the Egyptians does not enjoy the advantage of having been handed down to posterity by the so-called classic writers of antiquity in its true outlines and in a connected series of events. On the contrary, the stories of the classic times, intricately confused and transformed into a caricature, have proved rather injurious than serviceable, because they have disseminated false views, and have spread a cloud of fables and tales over Egypt and her history, during a period of more than twenty centuries. Only of late have the monuments, once again brought to light and awakened to new life, torn aside the deceitful veil, revealed the truth, and furnished the evidence that in the times of classic antiquity the history of the ancient Egyptians was already an uncomprehended book, like that with the seven

seals. Unhappily the revelation has come almost too late to preserve the vast world of stone, which had been meanwhile destroyed with its countless historical inscriptions.

But yet, in spite of all that has perished never to return, the last twenty years have brought to the light of day an extraordinary and almost unexpected wealth of new discoveries and revelations. A single walk through the rooms of the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq, the port of Cairo, brings us at each step to monuments of the most remote ages, not only of Egyptian history, but of the whole history of mankind. Thanks to the lively interest which the most enlightened prince of the eastern world has taken in these investigations, we here see an unbroken series of new witnesses of the old time, raised from the bosom of the earth into the light of day, to give us information about the long vanished past, whose starting point can no longer be reached by the remotest stages in the ordinary historical measurement of time.

The 'Tables of Kings' of Saqqarah and Abydus, both containing a selection of Egyptian monarchs from the first Pharaoh Mena onwards, give us the most authentic evidence, now no longer to be doubted, that the primitive ancestors of the Egyptian dynasties, the Pharaohs of Memphis, must be greeted as real historical personages, and that King Ramses II. (about 1350 B.C.), the Sesostris of the Greek fabulous history of the Egyptians, was preceded by at least seventy-six legitimate sovereigns: that is to say, in other words, there were so many

generations of men, who lived during a space of time which is greater than the sum total of the years that have elapsed from Ramses II. down to the present day. Such a comparison of the extent of time between two epochs historically memorable teaches us to form a more impressive estimate of the astounding age of Egyptian history than any positive numbers. It gives us some approximate idea of the value of the monuments, preserved through such a space of time, for understanding the development of humanity, whose indestructible boundary stones, at the extremest limit of the political horizon, will be marked for all ages by the pyramids of Memphis.

Ought it to cause surprise if the newly-lighted torch of knowledge does not shine deep enough into these remote ages of hoar antiquity?—if in the dark corridors of primeval history the guiding clue of monumental discovery suddenly breaks off, or reaches its end when least expected?—or if the attention of the writer dwells fondly upon strange names, and on the deeds of a time full of simple childlike ideas, for which the history of our own day, with its great world-stirring aims, has long since lost the standard of comparison? Though the pampered darling of our busy age may smile as scornfully as he will at the life and doings of the 'ancients' of the Nile Valley, yet by the reflecting man that venerable antiquity, with its genuine striving after the dignity of man, will be viewed in the clear light of the earliest twilight dawn of the civilization and ennobling of his race, and with a simply thankful mind he will devote his full attention to the

life and work of these forefathers of mankind, as it is portrayed by their own hands.

If, on the one hand, the monuments of this most ancient history have in our day received so remarkable an increase, that they serve to fill up in the most welcome manner many gaps in the first edition of the Egyptian history, to correct many errors, and not seldom to confirm or to contradict conjectures previously made, so meanwhile another advantage has been won for these enquiries, the importance of which for historical research may be pronounced immeasurable. The decypherment of the old Egyptian texts has, by the united labour of gifted men of science, particularly of late years, reached such great certainty, in consequence of a methodical treatment, that the contents of each inscription can be exactly determined, at least so far that gross errors are no longer possible. A sober and healthy criticism has begun to assert its full right in this province, as in others, by subjecting the course of its researches to the general laws of enquiry into that which is as yet unknown.

What conquests the growing knowledge of the old Egyptian language and writing has meanwhile won for historical research, is best shown by the numerous writings of deserving men of science, who have chosen the decyphering of the most important inscriptions of Egyptian antiquity as the object of their studies, the results of which throw such a surprising light on the most important periods of ancient history. The works of real genius by the never-to-be-forgotten Viscount E. de Rougé, (a French scholar too soon lost to science by

death,) on the irruption of the Mediterranean people into Egypt in the times of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, and the invaluable contributions which M. Chabas, of Chalons, has made towards a knowledge of the same reigns, especially by his acute decyphering of the hieratic rolls of papyrus in the British Museum, form turning points of the highest importance in the whole province of Egyptian history, and deserve to be mentioned as real conquests of the first rank.

In the presence of these venerable remains of monuments, the witnesses of a past world full of riddles and wonders, and considering the important discoveries which the acuteness of the human mind has wrung from the inscriptions in the most recent times, we may perhaps be permitted to indulge the modest hope, that this new edition of the History of the ancient Egyptians may at least in some degree answer the requirements which the reader is entitled to ask for in the treatment of an interesting subject, the materials of which have already been prepared by the labours of scholarship. For the scholar retires from the stage, and leaves to the historian the delightful but difficult task of exhibiting in one view that whole, whose several parts have been treated separately by the varied resources of science, often without divining or anticipating their connection.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS. THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

ALTHOUGH, in so long a space of time as sixty centuries, events and revolutions of great historical importance must of necessity have completely altered the political state of Egypt, yet, notwithstanding all, the old Egyptian race has undergone but little change; for it still preserves to this day those distinctive features of physiognomy, and those peculiarities of manners and customs, which have been handed down to us, by the united testimony of the monuments and the accounts of the ancient classical writers, as the hereditary characteristics of this people.

Historical researches concerning a race of mankind are inseparably connected with the important and momentous enquiry after their primeval home, the cradle of their historic childhood. Nor does the historian by himself possess the means for a satisfactory solution of this question. The auxiliary sciences of the natural history of the human race and of comparative philology must be taken into council, in order to guide us, even though it be but approximately, to the

origin of nations and the directions in which they have migrated. It is not our intention to occupy ourselves with the details of those researches, on the ground of which the first-named science has laboured to determine the primeval home of the ancient Egyptian race. It may suffice to lay down as a first settled point—although the fact is questioned by the younger school—that this science believes itself to possess positive proofs, as the result of which the forefathers of the Egyptians cannot be reckoned among the African races, properly so called. The form of the skull—so at least the elder school teaches—as well as the proportions of the several parts of the body, as these have been determined from examining a great number of mummies, are held to indicate a connection with the Caucasian family of mankind. The Egyptians, together with some other nations, form, as it would seem, a third branch of that race, namely, the family called Cushite, which is distinguished by special characters from the Pelasgian and the Semitic families. Whatever relations of kindred may be found always to exist between these great races of mankind, thus much may be regarded as certain, that the cradle of the Egyptian people must be sought in the interior of the Asiatic quarter of the world. In the earliest ages of humanity, far beyond all historical remembrance, the Egyptians, for reasons unknown to us, left the soil of their primeval home, took their way towards the setting sun, and finally crossed that bridge of nations, the Isthmus of Suez, to find a new fatherland on the favoured banks of the holy Nile.

Comparative philology, in its turn, gives powerful support to this hypothesis. The Egyptian language—which has been preserved on the monuments of the oldest time, as well as in the late-Christian manuscripts of the Copts, the successors of the people of the Pharaohs—shows in no way any trace of a derivation and descent from the African families of speech. On the contrary, the primitive roots and the essential elements of the Egyptian grammar point to such an intimate connection with the Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages, that it is almost impossible to mistake the close relations which formerly prevailed between the Egyptians and the races called Indo-Germanic and Semitic.

We will not pass over in silence a Greek account, remarkable because of its origin, according to which the primitive abode of the Egyptian people is to be sought in Ethiopia. According to an opinion strongly advocated by ancient writers, and even subscribed to by some modern historians, little conversant with the facts of the case, the honour of first founding Egyptian civilization should be awarded to a society of priests from the city of Meroë. Descending the course of the Nile—so runs the story—they are supposed to have settled on the territory of the later city of Thebes, and there to have founded the first state with a theocratic form of government. Although, on the ground of the ancient tradition, this view has been frequently repeated in the historical works of subsequent times, it is nevertheless stamped with the mark of error, as it dispenses with any actual proof. It is not to the Ethiopian priests that the Egyptian empire owes its origin, its

form of government, and the characteristic stages of its high civilization ; but much rather was it the Egyptians that first ascended the river, to found in Ethiopia temples, cities, and fortified places, and to diffuse the blessings of a civilized state among the rude dark-coloured population. Whichever of the Greek historians concocted the marvellous fiction of the first Ethiopic settlement in Egypt was led into the mistake by a confusion with the influence which Ethiopia exercised on the fortunes of Egypt during a comparatively late period, and by carrying this back, without further consideration, into the prehistoric age.

Supposing, for a moment, that Egypt had owed her civil and social development to Ethiopia, nothing should be more probable than the presumption of our finding monuments of the highest antiquity in that primitive home of the Egyptians, while in going down the river we ought to light only upon monuments of a later age. Strange to say, the whole number of the buildings in stone, as yet known and examined, which were erected on both sides of the river at the bidding of the Egyptian and Ethiopian kings, furnish the incontrovertible proof, that the long series of temples, cities, sepulchres, and monuments in general, exhibit a distinct chronological order, of which the oldest starting-point is found in the Pyramids, at the apex of the Delta, south of the bifurcation of the great river. As, in proceeding southwards, we approach nearer and nearer to the rapids and cataracts of the Upper Nile, right into the heart of the later Ethiopian kingdom, the more does the stamp of antiquity vanish from the

whole body of extant monuments; the more evident is the decline of art, of taste, and of beauty. In short, the Ethiopian style of art—so far as the monuments still preserved allow us to form a judgment—is destitute of all independent character. The first view of the Ethiopian monuments at once carries the conviction, that we can recognise no special quality beyond the rudest conception and the most imperfect execution of a style of art originally Egyptian. The most clumsy imitation of Egyptian attainments in all that relates to science and the arts, appears as the acmé of the intellectual progress and the artistic development of Ethiopia.

According to the accounts of the Greek and Roman writers who had occasion to visit Egypt and to have close intercourse with the people of the country, the Egyptians themselves held the belief, that they were the original inhabitants of the land. The fertile valley of the Nile, according to their opinion, formed the heart and centre of the whole world. To the West of it dwelt the groups of tribes, which bore the general name of Ribu or Libu, the ancestors of those Libyans who are so often mentioned in the historical works and geographical descriptions of the ancients. Inhabiting the north coasts of Africa, they extended their abodes eastward as far as the districts along the Canopic branch of the Nile, now called that of Rosetta or Rashid. From the evidence of the monuments, they belonged to a light-coloured race, with blue eyes and blond or red hair. According to the very remarkable researches of the French general Faidherbe, they may

have been the earliest representatives of that race (perhaps of Celts?) who migrated from the north of Europe to Africa, making their way through the three Mediterranean peninsulas, and gradually taking possession of the Libyan coasts. It is a noteworthy phenomenon that, as early as the remote times of the Fourth Dynasty of Egyptian sovereigns, some people belonging to this race (men, women, and children) wandered into Egypt to display their dexterity as dancers, combatants, and gymnasts, in the public games which delighted young and old; just as at the present day the Egyptians still amuse themselves with the buffooneries and skilful tricks of wandering Moghrabins. The Libyans, however, who appear on the walls of the sepulchres from the fourth to the twelfth Dynasty, are distinguished from the reddish-brown Egyptians by their light-grey or light-brown complexion, suggesting the probability, that they may not have had a very close relationship to the white Libyans of later times.

The great mixture of tribes in many branches, who had their primeval homes in the wide regions and marshy districts of the Upper Nile, from the Egyptian frontier at the first cataract (close to the city of Syene), have on the monuments the common name of Nahasu. In the coloured representations they appear of a black or dark-brown complexion, with unmistakable Negro features, and with a thoroughly primitive and simple dress. There can be no doubt that we have to recognise in them the ancestors of the Negro race of the present day. In the most ancient times, their northern tribes dwelt in immediate proximity to the

Egyptian frontier; while the Kar or Kal, often mentioned by the ancient Egyptians about the seventeenth century B.C.—probably the ancestors of the modern Galla—formed the southernmost branch, then known, of the great groups of nations of inner Africa. These dark-coloured neighbours often molested the Egyptian subjects of the southern regions; and the kings had to resort to arms in order to drive back the untamed hordes, and to fix a barrier against their inroads by strong garrisons and well-built forts.

Turning our eyes to the East, across the narrow Isthmus of Suez, we meet on the ancient soil the people of that great nation, which the Egyptians designated by the name of Amu. Whether we prefer to explain this name by the help of the Semitic languages, in which it has the general significance of 'people,' or whether we resort to the Egyptian vocabulary, in which *ame* (more usually *amen*) has the meaning of 'herdsman,'—in either case, this one thing is certain, that the Egyptians of the Pharaonic age used the term in a somewhat contemptuous sense. These Amu were the Pagans, the Kaffirs, or 'infidels' of their time. In the coloured representations they are distinguished chiefly by their yellow or yellowish-brown complexion, while their dress has sometimes a great simplicity, but sometimes shows a taste for splendour and richness in the choiceness of the cut and the coloured designs woven into the fabric. In these Amu scientific research has long since perceived the representatives of the great Semitic family of nations, though, in our own opinion, the same name includes also many peoples and families, who

appear to have but a slight relationship with the pure Semitic race.

The most remarkable nations among the Amu, who appear in the course of Egyptian history as commanding respect by their character and their deeds, are the Kheta, the Khar (or Khal), and the Ruten (or Luten). But moreover it is to be especially remarked, as a fact established beyond dispute, that even in the most glorious times of the Egyptian monarchy the Amu were settled as permanent inhabitants in the neighbourhood of the present lake Menzaleh. A great number of towns and villages, canals and pools, in that region, formerly bore names unmistakably Semitic, as we shall hereafter prove in fuller detail.

The most conspicuous part of Egyptian history, so far as it has been made known by the monuments as yet discovered and by the inscriptions on them, consists —besides the changes of the Dynasties—of conflicts within and without, and of victorious campaigns which the Pharaohs undertook at the head of their warriors against the nations who were their nearest neighbours. In such expeditions the kings sought to open new roads to all parts of the then known world, in order to extend the power and the territories of the Egyptian empire to the utmost bounds of the earth known to them. In the most glorious times of Egyptian history, inscribed pillars of stone, set up on the great plains of Mesopotamia as well as in the almost inaccessible regions of Inner Africa, served as speaking witnesses to the fame of the Egyptian arms and to the exploits of the Theban kings of Upper Egypt. Although the

ravages of time, in the long course of the world's history, have made them disappear without leaving a trace behind, yet the memory of these exploits is clearly preserved in some monuments of victory.

Like the rest of mankind, the Egyptians at last found their spirits cramped in their own proper home, and their restlessness found ample satisfaction in the warlike expeditions which opened to them the wide world and led them to covet the possession of the rich and fruitful territories of Asia and Africa beyond their own borders. The agricultural became a conquering people, regardless of the curse which is as old as the history of the world. For their foreign possessions, hard to win, but still harder to keep, became a thorn in their own flesh, which at length brought the great body politic of Egypt to a miserable end.

CHAPTER II.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.
MENTAL PECULIARITIES OF THE EGYPTIANS.

EGYPT is designated in the old inscriptions, as well as in the books of the later Christian Egyptians, by a word which signifies 'the black land,' and which is read in the Egyptian language Kem or Kami. The ancients had early remarked that the cultivable land of Egypt was distinguished by its dark and almost black colour, and certainly this peculiar colour of their soil suggested to the old Egyptians the name of the black land. This name and its derivation receive a further corroboration from the fact, that the neighbouring region of the Arabian desert bore the name of Tesher, or 'the red land,' in contradistinction to the black land (the A'in of the monuments, Æan in Pliny, an appellation of the nome afterwards called the Heroöpolitan). On countless occasions the king is mentioned in the inscriptions as 'the lord of the black country and of the red country,' in order to show that his rule extended over cultivated and uncultivated Egypt in the wider sense of the word. We must take this opportunity of stating that the Egyptians designated themselves simply as the people of the black land, and that the inscriptions, so far as we know, have handed

down to us no other appellation as the distinctive name of the Egyptian people.

On the other hand, the monuments make us acquainted with a number of other names, which served to designate this same land of Egypt in a special manner. Among the oldest is unquestionably the name Tamera, which seems to have meant the country of the inundation, and was applied more particularly to Lower Egypt. Other inscriptions belonging to the later age designated Egypt by appellations conceived for the most part in a poetical spirit. Among the most frequent expressions of this class are the following: The land of the sycomore, the land of the olive, the land of the Holy Eye, the land of the sixth day of the moon (intercalary day). The explanation of these and other designations can only be sought in those writings of the ancient Egyptians which relate to the doctrine of divine things and to the legends of the gods and divine beings, for it is a well-known fact that the Egyptians, precisely in the same manner as the Hebrews, believed that they found in the name of a person or place reference to certain events or to remarkable circumstances, whence the mere similarity of sound often gave occasion for incredibly bold identifications. The derivation of words according to fixed laws, corresponding to the natural state of things, was quite unknown to the ancients, and it must often make the hair of a modern philologer stand on end, to see the forced and violent comparison of words indulged in by the ancients in their explanations of significant proper names.

A real enigma is proposed to us in the derivation and meaning of the curious proper name, by which the foreign peoples of Asia, each in its own dialect, were accustomed to designate Egypt. The Hebrews gave the land the name of Mizraim; the Assyrians, Muzur; the Persians, Mudraya. We may feel assured that at the basis of all these designations there lies an original form which consisted of the three letters M—z—r, all explanations of which have as yet been unsuccessful. Although I intend hereafter to consider more particularly the derivation of this puzzling name, which is still preserved at the present day in the Arabic appellation Misr, I will here premise the remark, that this name was originally applied only to a certain definite part of Egypt, in the east of the Delta, which, according to the indications of the monuments, was covered and defended by many 'zor,' or fortresses, and was hence called in Egyptian Mazor (that is, fortified).

Ancient Egypt, most commonly mentioned in general as 'the double land,' consisted of two great divisions, which, after their situation, were called in contrast with each other the land of the South and the land of the North, as is attested by the inscriptions. The first corresponds to that part of Egypt which, following the Greek name, we now know as Upper Egypt, and which the Arabs of the present day call by the appellation of Said. The land of Upper Egypt began on the south at the ivory-island-city of Elephantine, which lay opposite to Syene (the modern trading town of Assouan) on the right bank of the river; and its northern boundary reached to the neighbourhood of the Memphian district

on the left bank of the holy river. Northern Egypt comprehended the remaining part of the land, called the Low country, the land of Behereh of the Arabs, the Delta of the Greek writers. This division, which exists just as much in our own day as it did in the most ancient times, is neither accidental nor arbitrary; for it is founded not only on a local difference in the respective dialects of the inhabitants, but on the marked distinction of habits, manners, and customs, which divides the Egyptians in the North and the South from one another. Already in the thirteenth century before our era, this difference of speech is proved by documentary evidence. In a manuscript which goes back to that date the learned author takes occasion to contrast the speech of a man of Upper Egypt with the speech of one of Lower Egypt, for the purpose of characterising most strikingly the obscurity and unintelligibility of a literary work. (See Vol. II. p. 109).

This chief division of Egypt, which according to the sacred traditions of the Egyptian priests was referred back to the time of the god-kings, explains not only the name of 'double country,' especially in the constantly recurring title of the kings, as 'the lords of the double country,' but it enables us to see clearly the grounds of the opposition by which, according to the myth, the sovereignty of the South was specially committed to the god Set, that of the North to the god Hor, the son of Osiris. It was a perpetual custom of the Egyptians that, after the old traditional manner, every king, on the day of his solemn coronation—which was distinct from the day of his receiving the

kingdom in his father's lifetime or on the death of his predecessor—received as his chief insignia two crowns, of which the white upper one symbolised his sovereignty over the South, the red lower one, on the contrary, his dominion over the North, of the Egyptian kingdom.

The land of Egypt resembles a small narrow girdle, divided in the midst by a stream of water, and hemmed in on both sides by long chains of mountains. On the right side of the stream, to the East, the chain of hills called Arabian accompany the river for its whole length; on the opposite, the Western side, the low hills of the Libyan desert extend in the same direction with the river from South to North up to the shore of the Mediterranean Sea. The river itself was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the name of Neilos or Nilus. Although this word is still retained in the Arabic language as Nil, with the special meaning of 'inundation,' yet its origin is not to be sought in the old Egyptian language; but, as has been lately suggested with great probability, it is to be derived from the Semitic word Nahar or Nahal, which has the general signification of 'river.' From its bifurcation south of the ancient city of Memphis, the river divided itself into three great arms, which watered the Lower Egyptian flat lands which spread out in the shape of the Greek letter Δ (Delta), and with four smaller arms formed the seven famous mouths of the Nile.

The Egyptian districts, called by the Greeks Nomes (Νόμοι), which in the upper land lay on both sides of the river, comprehended in the inner part of the Delta

larger circuits, which were surrounded like islands by the arms of the Nile and their canals. Beyond these island nomes other districts extended on the Arabian and Libyan sides of the Lower Egyptian region of the stream. They are called in the lists the Western and Eastern nomes; and they correspond to the modern provinces of *Gharbieh* and *Sharkieh*, names which have the same meaning. This special division of the upper and lower countries into the districts called Nomes is of the highest antiquity, since we already find on the monuments of the fourth dynasty some nomes mentioned by their names, as well as some towns with the nomes to which they belonged. Thirty centuries later the same nomes appear on the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman times, arranged in regular and very detailed tables, which separate the upper and the lower country by a clear distinction. Upper Egypt contained 22 nomes, Lower Egypt 20, so that there was a total for all Egypt of 42 nomes, which the native language designated sometimes by the word Sep or Hesep, sometimes by the word Tash. According to the account given in a papyrus, the division into 36 districts rests on a particular view, which connected the terrestrial division into nomes with the 36 ruling houses of the heavens (in astrology). In the celestial Egypt, as in the terrestrial, the first nome—in this case that of the first ruler—was dedicated to the goddess of the star Sothis (Sirius).

Each district had its own capital, which was at the same time the seat of the captain for the time being, whose office and dignity passed by inheritance, ac-

cording to the old Egyptian laws, from the father to the eldest grandson on the mother's side. The capital formed likewise the central point of the particular divine worship of the district which belonged to it. The sacred lists of the nomes have handed down to us the names of the temple of the chief deity, of the priests and priestesses, of the holy trees, and also the names of the town-harbour of the holy canal, the cultivated land and the land which was only fruitful during the inundation, and much other information, in such completeness that we are in a position, from the indications contained in these lists, to form the most exact picture of each Egyptian nome in all its details, almost without any gaps. Finally, we must not omit to remark that the several districts were separated from each other by boundary stones, and that the Egyptian authorities took the greatest pains in attending to the measurement of all the lands, for the making of canals and the inspection of the dams.

Egyptian history, so far as the monuments preserved from eternal oblivion throw light on the matter, furnishes proof that each nome formed in a certain degree a government complete in itself. It happened very often, that the inhabitants of one district threatened an attack on the occupants of another on account of some dispute about divine or human questions. The hostile feelings of the opponents not unfrequently broke out into a hard struggle, and it required the whole armed power of the king to extinguish at its first outburst the flaming torch of war, kindled by domineering chiefs of nomes or ambitious priests.

The disastrous results of such feuds sometimes affected even the whole dynasty. The reigning family had to descend from the throne and give up the country and crown to the victorious prince of a nome. Hence not unfrequently arose the changes of dynasty, and the different names of the capitals of nomes in the Book of Kings handed down to us from Manetho. There are, however, three districts, above all others, which in the course of Egyptian history maintained the brilliant reputation of being the seats of government for the land: in Lower Egypt the nomes of Memphis and Heliopolis (On), and in Upper Egypt that of Thebes.

The old inhabitants of Egypt, like their descendants of to-day who inhabit the 'black country,' obtained nourishment and increase from their favoured soil. The wealth and prosperity of the country and its inhabitants were founded on agriculture and the breeding of cattle. Tillage, favoured by the proverbial fertility of the soil, had its fixed seasons regulated by the annual inundations. The special care already bestowed in the remotest antiquity on that important part of agricultural industry, the breeding and tending of cattle, is set in the clearest light by the evidence of the monuments. The walls of the sepulchral chapels are covered with thousands of bas-reliefs and their explanatory inscriptions, which preserve for us the most abundant disclosures respecting the labours of the field and the rearing of cattle, as practised by the old Egyptians. In them, also, navigation plays an important part, as the sole means of transport for long

distances. In ancient times, as in our own day, commerce and travelling were carried on upon the Nile and its canals. On the chief festivals of the Egyptian year the Pharaohs themselves did not disdain to sail along the sacred river in the gorgeous royal ship, in order to perform mystic rites in special honour of agriculture. The priests regarded the plough as a most sacred implement, and their faith held that the highest happiness of man, after the completion of his pilgrimage here below, would consist in tilling the Elysian fields of the subterranean god Osiris, in feeding and tending his cattle, and navigating the breezy water of the other world in slender skiffs. The husbandman, the shepherd, and the boatman, were in fact the first founders of the gentle manners—the honoured authors of that most ancient peaceful life—of the people who flourished in the blessed valley of the Nile.

We cannot close this chapter without still taking an enquiring look at the peculiar mental endowments of the ancient Egyptians, about which the information of the monuments will be of course our faithful guides. There are not wanting very learned and intelligent persons—not excepting some who have won an illustrious name in historical enquiries—who teach us to regard the Egyptians as a people reflective, serious, and reserved, very religious, occupied only with the other world, and caring nothing or very little about this lower life; just as if they had been the Trappists of antiquity. But could it have been possible—we ask with wonder and bewilderment—that the fertile and bounteous land, that the noble river

which waters its soil, that the pure and smiling heaven, that the beaming sun of Egypt, could have produced a people of living mummies and of sad philosophers, a people who only regarded this life as a burden to be thrown off as soon as possible? No! Travel through the land of the old Pharaohs; look at the pictures carved or painted on the walls of the sepulchral chapels; read the words cut in stone or written with black ink on the fragile papyrus; and you will soon be obliged to form another judgment on the Egyptian philosophers. No people could be gayer, more lively, of more childlike simplicity, than those old Egyptians, who loved life with all their heart, and found the deepest joy in their very existence. Far from longing for death, they addressed to the host of the holy gods the prayer to preserve and lengthen life, if possible, to the 'most perfect old age of 110 years.' They gave themselves up to the pleasures of a merry life. The song and dance and flowing cup, cheerful excursions to the meadows and the papyrus marshes—to hunt with bow and arrow or sling, or to fish with spear and hook—heightened the enjoyment of life, and were the recreations of the nobler classes after work was done. In connection with this merry disposition, humorous jests and lively sallies of wit, often passing the bounds of decorum, characterised the people from age to age. They were fond of biting jests and smart innuendos; and free social talk found its way even into the silent chambers of the tomb. But the propensity to pleasure was a dangerous trap for the youth of the old Egyptian schools, and the judicious teachers had much need to

keep a curb on the young people. If admonition utterly failed, the chastising stick came into play, for the sages of the country believed that 'The ears of a youth are on his back.'

The lowest classes of the people, 'the mob,' as the inscriptions call them, were occupied with husbandry, the breeding of cattle, navigation, fishing, and the different branches of the most simple industries. From a very early period stone was wrought according to the rules of an advanced skill; and metals, namely, gold, silver, copper, iron (at first meteoric iron), were melted and wrought into works of art or tools and implements; wood and leather were formed into a great variety of valuable objects; glass was cast; flax was spun and woven into stuffs; ropes were twisted; baskets and mats of rushes were plaited; and on the round potter's wheel great and small vessels were formed by clever artists from the rich clay of the Nile, and baked in the fiery furnace. Sculptors and painters found profitable work among the rich patrons of art at the court of the Pharaohs; and a whole world of busy artizans worked for daily wages under the bright blue sky of Egypt.

But all these, the humble followers of the earliest human art industry, were held 'in bad odour,' and the lowest scribe in the service of a great man looked down with the greatest contempt on the toiling, labouring people. It was esteemed better to be a servant in the house of the Pharaoh, and to bustle about in the service of their masters in the halls of the noble families. Though themselves children of the people, the class of

servants found help and protection from their lords, and had a share in the honour of the court. Spoilt by the plenty, luxury, and extravagance of splendid life, they knew not the painful lot of the workman. Death itself did not grudge the servants a part with the owners of the gorgeous sepulchres. For in the chambers of the dead, the deep pits of which hid in the place of honour the embalmed bodies of the noble masters, room was reserved by the artist's hand for the memory of the faithful servant. But too obedient to the orders of their lords, the servants held in slight regard the 'stinking' masses of the people, and abhorred the society of the 'miserable' traders and workmen.

Returning from successful campaigns abroad to the banks of the holy river, the princes and captains of the warriors, in the course of time, brought a great number of prisoners into the country, as booty of war: king's children, nobles, and common people of foreign origin. Some as hostages, others as slaves, inhabited the towns of their Egyptian lords; those not noble being promoted to the rank of domestic servants, or condemned to work in the fields with the common herd of the people. Dark-coloured inhabitants of the southern regions of the Upper Nile and light-coloured Canaanites, armed with sticks, attended the great men on their journeys as guards of honour, or, in the service of the court, enforced respect in an office like that of the cawasses of our day.

The noble class of the Egyptian people had nothing in common with the vulgar 'mob;' for they derived

their origin, for the most part, from the royal house, the nearest branches of which, the king's children and grandchildren (Sutenrekh), were held in high honour and respect. To them were committed the highest offices of the court, to which they were attached by abundant rewards from the Pharaoh's ever open hand. The nobles held as their hereditary possessions villages and tracts of land, with the people thereto belonging, bands of servants, and numerous herds of cattle. To their memory, after their decease, were dedicated those splendid tombs, the remains of which, on the raised plain of the Libyan desert or in the caverns of the Egyptian hills, are still searched with admiring wonder by later ages, down to our own day. Ambition and arrogant pride form a remarkable feature in the spirit of the old dwellers on the Nile. Workman competed with workman, husbandman with husbandman, official with official, to outvie his fellow, and to appropriate the favour and praises of the noble lords. In the schools, where the poor scribe's child sat on the same bench beside the offspring of the rich, to be trained in discipline and wise learning, the masters knew how by timely words to goad on the lagging diligence of the ambitious scholars, by holding out to them the future reward which awaited youths skilled in knowledge and letters. Thus the slumbering spark of self-esteem was stirred to a flame in the youthful breast, and emulation was stimulated among the boys. The clever son of the poor man, too, might hope by his knowledge to climb the ladder of the higher offices, for neither his birth nor position in life raised any barrier, if only the youth's mental

power justified fair hopes for the future. In this sense, the restraints of *caste* did not exist, and neither descent nor family hampered the rising career of the clever. Many a monument consecrated to the memory of some nobleman gone to his long home, who during life had held high rank at the court of Pharaoh, is decorated with the simple but laudatory inscription, 'His ancestors were unknown people.'

It is a satisfaction to avow that the training and instruction of the young interested the Egyptians in the highest degree. For they fully recognised in this the sole means of elevating their national life, and of fulfilling the high civilizing mission which Providence seemed to have placed in their hands. But above all things they regarded justice, and virtue had the highest price in their eyes. The law which ordered them —'To pray to the gods, to honour the dead, to give bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked'—reveals to us one of the finest qualities of the old Egyptian character, pity towards the unfortunate. The forty-two commandments of the Egyptian religion, which are contained in the 125th chapter of the 'Book of the Dead,' are in no way inferior to the precepts of Christianity; and, in reading the old Egyptian inscriptions concerning morality and the fear of God, we are tempted to believe that the Jewish lawgiver Moses modelled his teachings on the patterns given by the old Egyptian sages.

In the course of this history we shall have frequent occasion to return to the noble qualities which distinguished the old Egyptian character.

But the medal has its reverse side. The forefathers of the Egyptians were not free from vices and failings, which we cannot pass over in silence without exposing ourselves to the reproach of flattery at the expense of truth. Hatred, envy, cunning, intrigue, combined with an overweening sentiment of pride, opposition, and perversity, added to avarice and cruelty—such is the long series of hereditary faults which history reveals to us among the Egyptians by unnumbered examples in the course of centuries. We must especially beware of cherishing the belief that the rule of the Pharaohs opened to the inhabitants of the land the gates of a terrestrial paradise. The people suffered and endured under the blows of their oppressors, and the stick settled the despatch of business between the peasant and the tax-gatherer. We need but glance at the gigantic masses of the Pyramids; they tell more emphatically than living speech or written words of the tears and the pains, the sufferings and miseries, of a whole population, which was condemned to erect these everlasting monuments of Pharaonic vanity. Three thousand years were not able to efface the curse resting on their memory. When Herodotus, about the middle of the fifteenth century before Christ, visited the field of the great pyramids of Gizeh, the Egyptians told him of the imprecations wrung from their unhappy forefathers, and they would not from abhorrence so much as utter the names of the kings who constructed the two highest pyramids, whom we now know to have been the Pharaohs Khufu and Khafra.

CHAPTER III.

PREHISTORIC EGYPT.

THE scientific students of our day, who trace back the history of mankind to the times when the races of men still lived in the condition of savages, have arranged in order the three ages of stone, of bronze, and of iron, in order to fill up by this regular series the void which exists in all the records of history. Although we will not dispute that history may regard everything as an object for its consideration, yet we must openly acknowledge the fact, that, up to this time at least, Egypt throws scorn upon these assumed periods. So far as the historical record on the surviving monuments of Egypt reaches back, their beginnings coincide with the first age of the stone period, which the learned men of our time have invented in order to bridge over the historical chasm with a tangible fact. The result is, to speak in other words, that the history of Egypt must be the most ancient in the world—Egypt must appear to us in the light of the first human civilization. There is, therefore, the more reason for us to follow the precious traces of this most ancient past, and to welcome the slightest relics of those times as venerable

memorials which the earliest civilized race of men has left us of their actions and their life.

The Egyptians, like the ancients in general, were assuredly as inquisitive as ourselves of knowledge about the prehistoric times; but with this difference, that for them primeval history was concerned very little with the people and much more with the fame of the kings. Their enquiries were directed to the names and genealogies of the princes who ruled the land before the first legitimate king, Mena.

The ancients cared little for those profound researches which our modern age, prompted by a burning thirst for knowledge, is accustomed to set on foot in order to penetrate the darkness which envelops the origin of the nations. At the point where historical information ceased, where Clio laid down her pen, and all further search for the lost sources of the great stream of history was wasted labour, the myth began to claim its rights, imagination replaced facts, and invention scorned the test of criticism.

As the Egyptians could not discover in the records of their monuments the primeval history of their land before the Pharaoh Mena mounted the throne, their imagination supposed three ages which followed one another, till Mena placed the double crown upon his head. During the first age a dynasty of the gods reigned in the land; this was followed by the age of the demigods; and the dynasty of the mysterious Manes closed the prehistoric time. It seems very likely that these dynasties contain some remembrance of the

ages of gold and silver of the poetic fictions of the Greeks.

The theology of the Egyptian priests did not fail to furnish materials for filling up these three ages with heavenly persons and names. The calculations of the courses of the stars, based on the cycle of the risings of Sothis (the Dog-star), gave the numbers which were added as regnal years to the names of these prehistoric sovereigns. As the sacred guilds of the priests at Memphis, Thebes, and other cities of Egypt, were not of one opinion, but differed from one another in their various doctrines about the nature of the gods and their connection with earthly things, we need not be surprised if the list of the three prehistoric dynasties contained different names and numbers, according to their respective origin.

To give but one example, we subjoin the names of the divine kings of the First Age (leaving out the numbers of years assigned to them), first in the Theban order, and then according to the arrangement of the Memphian priests; adding to the names of the Egyptian deities the corresponding classical appellations.

THE DYNASTY OF THE GODS.

I. *According to the Theban Doctrine.*

1. Amon-ra, 'the King of the Gods'	Jupiter.
2. Mont, his son	Mars.
3. Shu, son of Ra	Agathodæmon.
4. Seb, or Qeb, son of Shu	Saturn.
5. Osiris, son of Seb	Bacchus.
6. Horus, son of Osiris	Apollo.

II. *According to the Memphian Doctrine.*

1. Patah, 'the Father of the Gods,' (the Architect of the World.)	Vulcan.
2. Ra, son of Patah, (Fire—Existent Being—the Present)	Sol (the Sun).
3. Shu, his son, (the Air)	Agathodæmon.
4. Seb, his son, (the Earth)	Saturn.
5. Osiris, his son, (Water—Being that has existed—the Past)	Bacchus.
6. Set, son of Seb, (the Annihilation of Being) .	Typhon.
7. Horus, son of Osiris, (the Coming into Being, the Future)	Apollo.

A student who is initiated into the teachings and views of the priests about the being and nature of the deities—so far as we can learn them from the monuments—will find in the names of these heavenly kings, and in their order of succession, the matter and opportunity for very remarkable conjectures.

Thus the god Patah of Memphis, whom the inscriptions honour with the title of 'father of the gods,' is the Architect, in the highest sense of the word. This is at once indicated by his name, for Patah, in the Egyptian language, signifies 'architect, former, constructor.' On the other hand, there are not wanting very significant inscriptions, which throw a clear light on the sacred attributes of this Architect of the Universe. The following words, which may be read on the walls of the temple of Denderah, call the god expressly 'the chief of the society of the gods, who created all Being. All things came into existence after he existed. He is the lord of truth and king of the gods.' On the walls of the Temple of Isis, at Philæ, it is said of the same god,

that it is 'he who created all Being, who formed men and gods with his own hands.' Another inscription at the same place speaks of the being of Patah in the following terms: 'He is the father of beginnings, who created the egg of the sun and of the moon;' while a third text at Philæ more briefly but not less clearly calls him 'the father of all the gods, the first existing.' These examples are sufficient to prove the supreme place of the divine architect at the head of the god-kings. He is God the Creator, who existed before the creation of the universe, his own exclusive work.

The god Ra, the Sun, his successor, according to the Memphian doctrine, is invoked in several sacred hymns as 'the son of Patah.' According to the various doctrines in different parts of the country, this god bears the double names of Khnum-Ra, Amon-Ra, Sebek-Ra, Khem-Ra, Hor-Ra, etc., all of which are only different local denominations of the same divinity. Ra is the sun, and in this character the representative of Light and Fire in the series of the four elements of the world. In another deeply mystic sense he is the divine form of existence in the most comprehensive sense of the word; he is 'that which is to-day, the present.'

His son and successor, Shu, recals by his name the idea of emptiness or dryness. As an element, this divinity is identical with the wind or Air. The divine Seb, who, in the great calendar-inscription of the temple of Esneh, is called 'son of Shu,' appears in the documents and monuments of priestly origin as the personified image of the earth, and in this character as

the natural representative of the third element, the Earth. Yet it is a striking fact that the etymological sense of the word Seb, which in old Egyptian denotes both 'star' and 'time,' is in manifest opposition to the character attributed to him as the earth-god. That there is no error or self-deception here, is made clear to us from the comparison which passed over into classical antiquity between the Egyptian Seb and the Greek Kronos, the son of Uranus and Gæa, under whose reign the golden age flourished upon earth.

To his son Osiris—the divinity adored in all parts of the land, with the exception of three nomes, and in whose forty-two temples of the dead, or Serapeums (the most celebrated of which were those of Abydos and Busiris), great sacrifices were offered in memory of the dead—the Egyptian priests assigned the particular meaning of the fourth and last element, that of Water. According to a deeper conception, they believed that they recognised in the god Osiris the symbol of existence completed, for the god is 'that which was yesterday, the past.'

We will not here dwell upon the hostile divinity of his brother Set, to whom we intend hereafter to give full consideration. Next to him comes under our notice the god of light, Hor (Horus, Apollo), the son of Osiris and of his divine wife Isis. According to the doctrine of the Egyptian sages, the form of the beautiful Hor symbolises the return of a completed existence, 'the new life, that which will be to-morrow, the future;' in a word, the being born again in the eternal cycle of earthly phenomena. Such is Hor, the

primeval form and the type of every royal successor of the Pharaohs, just as Ra represented the reigning Pharaoh, and Osiris the deceased king. A long drawn out myth about Hor, whom Isis by her mysterious magical arts awakens to life from the dead Osiris in the form of a child, tells of the combat of the youth and his companions with Set, the brother and murderer of his father, of the final victory of the god of light over Set, the prince of darkness and of eternal conflict and annihilation, and of the exaltation of the young king Hor on the undivided throne of his father Osiris. According to the testimony of the monuments, the duty was imposed upon each earthly Pharaoh, as the successor of Hor—on receiving the royal dignity—to accomplish a certain number of festive ceremonies, which were distinctly prescribed by a law, and were regulated in detail by the holy legend of Hor's enthronisation.

Of the royal gods, of whom we have spoken above, frequent mention is made in the old Egyptian records of every period; and the fact is noteworthy, that they are referred to as kings, who actually reigned ages before, with the addition of their respective regnal years. Besides the name of their dynasty, they have a second name of honour, and, just like the Pharaohs, they bear respectively the authentic title under which the god Thut, the holy scribe of the gods, registered each of them in the Book of the Kings, at the command of the Sun-god, Ra. They have their individual history, which the holy scribes wrote down in the books of the temples; they married royal brides, and begat

a very numerous posterity. In reality, all these poetical fables have not the slightest historical foundation, nor do they throw any light on the epoch which preceded and introduced the rule of Mena; but yet they serve as trustworthy evidence of the historical sentiment possessed by the ancient Egyptians, and of their earnest desire to hand down in the mythical form to future generations the remembrance of the oldest prehistoric past.

The monuments preserve for us little information about the two fabulous dynasties which followed those of the god-kings, and which, in the extracts preserved in Greek from the lost Book of Kings by the Egyptian Manetho, are designated as the dynasties of the Demigods and of the Manes. It is to be regretted that the fragments of the Turin papyrus (once containing the most complete list of the kings of Egypt in their chronological order) have preserved not the slightest intelligible information about those fabulous successors of the god-kings. A single shred allows us to make out with tolerable certainty the names of sacred animals, such as the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of Heliopolis, so that it would appear as if these also had contributed to the number of the prehistoric rulers of Egypt. Science has not yet solved the problem, whether the fabulous personages of the dynasties in question are the same who, in the Turin papyrus and in other primitive records of Egyptian antiquity, are included under the general name of Hor-shesu, that is 'successors of Horus.' The inscriptions very often make allusion to them when they wish to speak of time beyond all memory.

Without occupying ourselves further with these imaginary beings, we must, as has been remarked before, at all events grant the inference, that Egypt had really a life before the historic age, but that the monuments—apart from the fictitious stories of the myths—contain nothing about the condition of the land in those far distant primeval times. All that we are allowed to suppose on this subject is confined to the assumption, that Egypt's prehistoric age must of necessity correspond to the time of the first development of arts and handicrafts and of human science, as well as to the time of the division and establishment of the higher and lower strata of society.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PHARAONIC HISTORY.

If the reader's curiosity leads him to an enquiry concerning the epochs of time already fixed in the history of the Pharaohs, and to a critical examination of the chronological tables thus far composed by scholars, he must be strangely impressed by the conflict of most diverse views in the computations of the most modern school. As to the era, for example, when the first Pharaoh, Mena, mounted the throne, the German Egyptologers have attempted to fix it at the following epochs :-

	B.C.		B.C.
Boeckh . .	5702	Lauth . .	4157
Unger . .	5613	Lepsius . . .	3892
Brugsch . .	4455	Bunsen . . .	3623

The difference between the two extreme points of the series is amazingly great, for its number of years amounts to no less than 2079! In order to comprehend it more fully, let us suppose, for the sake of comparison, that, some sixty centuries after our time, the learned world should launch out into a discussion about the date of the reign of the Roman Emperor Augustus, which began, as we at this day know

exactly, at the year 30 B.C. Instead then of this correct date, our learned sages would differ so widely in their opinions, that one would propose the year 207 B.C. of our chronology as the highest date, another the year 1872 A.D. of the same chronology as the lowest, for the accession of Augustus. Nevertheless the error has its limits, and we will explain the proof of this. The calculations in question are based on the extracts already often mentioned from a work by the Egyptian priest Manetho on the history of Egypt. That learned man had then at his command the annals of his country's history, which were preserved in the temples, and from them, the best and most accurate sources, he derived the materials for his work, composed in the Greek language, on the history of the ancient Egyptian Dynasties. His book, which is now lost, contained a general review of the kings of the land, divided into Thirty Dynasties, arranged in the order of their names, with the lengths of their reigns, and the total duration of each Dynasty. Though this invaluable work was little known and certainly but little regarded by the historians of the old classical age, large extracts were made from it by some of the ecclesiastical writers. In process of time the copyists, either by error or designedly, corrupted the names and the numbers, and thus we only possess at the present day the ruins instead of the complete building. The truth of the original, and the authenticity of his sources, was first proved by the deciphering of the Egyptian writing. And thus the Manethonian list of the kings served, and still serves, as a guide for assigning to the royal names

read on the monuments their place in the Dynasties, as, on the other hand, the monuments have enabled us with certainty to restore to their correct orthography many of the kings' names which have been corrupted in the Manethonian lists. The very thorough investigations, to which learned experts have subjected the succession of the Pharaohs and the chronological order of the dynasties, have shown the absolute necessity of supposing in the list of Manetho contemporary and collateral dynasties, and thus of diminishing considerably the total duration of the thirty Dynasties. Notwithstanding all these discoveries, the figures are in a deplorable state. From the nature of the calculation, based on the exact determination of the regnal years of the kings, every number which is rectified necessarily changes the results of the whole series of numbers. It is only from the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty that the chronology is founded on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude.

The great pedigree of twenty-five court architects, to which we have already directed the attention of the learned world in the first edition of our history, and the last scion of which, the architect Khnum-ab-ra, was alive in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Darius I., has given rise to the new method of fixing the dates of the Pharaohs anterior to the twenty-sixth dynasty, at least approximately, with the help of existing series of genealogies. The credit is due to a Swedish scholar, Mr. Lieblein, of having turned this new auxiliary to account, in his last work, as an aid to Egyptian chronology. The importance of this touch-

stone for all measurements of time in Egyptian history is incontestable; and it is strongly confirmed by the proofs adduced by Mr. Lieblein. Assuming, according to the well-known calculation of the father of history, Herodotus, the round number of a century for three consecutive human lives, we possess a means of determining approximately the periods of time which have elapsed, on the one hand, from King Mena to the end of the twelfth dynasty, and again from the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty to the end of the twenty-sixth. If the objection be raised, that the series of kings contained in the Table of Abydus (for it is of this that we are speaking) does not exhibit a direct succession from father to son, and that therefore the hypothesis of a continuous genealogical series must utterly fail, we observe in reply, that the table in question contains only a selection of legitimate kings, and that the Pharaohs who only reigned a short time, as well as all the usurpers, are passed over in silence; in other words, that the term of 100 years for three consecutive reigns is rather below than above the truth.

The new table of Abydus, discovered eleven years ago in a corridor of the temple of Seti I. at Harabat-el-Madfouneh, gives a succession of sixty-five kings from Mena, the founder of the line, down to the last reign of the twelfth dynasty. To these sovereigns therefore would be assigned a period of $\frac{65}{3} \times 100 = 2166$ years, leaving the fractional remainder out of the account.

The kings from the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, down to the Pharaoh Ramses II. of the nine-

teenth dynasty, are twelve in number, according to the same table of Abydus. On the other hand, there were nineteen court-architects, from Nofer-mennu, grandson of the architect Boken-khonsu, who lived in the reign of Seti I., down to his remote descendant Aahmes-sa-nit, father of the above-named Khnum-ab-ra, in the time of Darius I. We obtain therefore, for the second period, 12 + 19 = 31 generations, or $\frac{31}{3} \times 100 = 1033\frac{1}{3}$ years. The eighteenth dynasty would thus have begun its rule over Egypt $1033\frac{1}{3}$ years before the year 525 B.C., that is, in the year 1558 B.C. If we compare this number with the computations of recent critics of Manetho's work, which place the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty in one of the following years—1625 (Bunsen), 1655 (Boeckh), 1684 (Lepsius)—the result is a difference of about a hundred years. But even this difference is only apparent, for it is eliminated by the undeniable fact, that the architect Bokenkhonsu or Bekenkhonsu, whose pedigree makes him appear as contemporary with one of the later Ramessids of the XXth dynasty (see Table IV.) must be regarded as a second of the same name, in fact as a descendant of his namesake, the architect of Ramses II., who is passed over in the Table.

If we were to believe the Table of Abydus alone, the princes of the twelfth dynasty would have had the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty for their immediate successors, without any break or interregnum. This would be in accordance with the fact perceived by the acuteness of Mariette-Bey, that the old Egyptian proper names of the persons of the twelfth, and especially of

the eleventh dynasty, recur in the same forms on the monuments of the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty; and further, that at these two periods of Egyptian history the form and ornaments of the coffins are so alike as to be undistinguishable. Here we have a remarkable enigma, for the solution of which we do not yet possess the requisite data.

If we admit, according to the evidence of the Table of Abydus, the sudden transition from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty, the historical beginning of the Egyptian Empire would fall about the year 3724 B.C., namely 2166 years before 1558 B.C. But if, on the other hand, we assume in round numbers 500 years as the intermediate space of time which divides the end of the twelfth from the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, the result would be that Mena ascended the throne of Horus 500 years before the year 3724, that is, in 4244 B.C.

Some men of science believe that they have discovered another mode of arriving at the determination of important epochs of Egyptian history in certain accounts of astronomical observations, which they have for this purpose subjected to exact calculation. The opportunity has been given for complicated calculations of such a kind by the reign of a king named Menophres, under whom, according to a Greek account, a new Sothic cycle began; again, by the data contained in several royal sepulchres concerning the risings of the star Sothis (our Sirius) under the reigns of contemporary Ramessids; finally by some miscellaneous monuments relating to astronomy;—but as to

the value or worthlessness of these supposed results scientific criticism has not yet spoken its last word. Instead of growing less, the difficulties in determining the chronological relations of Egyptian history are on the contrary multiplied from day to day; for new problems, the solution of which has still to be waited for, are continually presenting themselves in the province of investigations about chronology. To mention one example, the question is now very properly raised, whether the old inhabitants of the Nile valley used the same form of calendar at all ages of their historical existence;—whether they knew the Sothic cycle of the year or any sidereal cycle derived from observation of the stars;—whether in the tables still extant they recorded the rising and setting of certain stars and constellations merely with the view of fixing their position for a certain epoch of the reign of this or that king:—all questions of the highest importance, but which up to the present time have waited in vain for their solution.

Had the Turin papyrus been preserved to us in its entire state; had we possessed the complete list of the historical kings of the Egyptian empire, we should probably have been in a position to mould into a perfect shape even the most ancient part of Egyptian history, with the dates belonging to it. But, as the case stands at present, no mortal man possesses the means of removing the difficulties which are inseparable from the attempt to restore the original list of kings from the fragments of the Turin papyrus. For too many of the most necessary elements are wanting to fill up the

lacunæ; and who is able to augment and complete the number of the historical monuments, especially those of the most ancient dynasties, which have survived but too rarely in their last ruins, to give satisfactory answers to our questions?

It also appears certain that the long series of the kings, which the Turin papyrus once contained, was arranged by the author according to his own ideas and views. For he gives carefully, besides the names of the Pharaohs, the years, months, and days of their reigns, but he forgets to give also any account of the contemporary double reign of two kings, which have been proved beyond all doubt by the inscriptions, and which was a very usual custom in the succession of a son to his father.

The chronological table of the history of the Egyptian kingdom, which is given at the end of this work (Appendix A.), is founded on the principles above explained, as far as dates are concerned, and is only presented to the reader with the extremest caution. I would make the general remark, that the numbers of years assigned to the Dynasties and to the individual Pharaohs claim merely the value of an approximation, but nevertheless they do not on the average exceed their actual ages obtained from the monuments.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST PHARAOH MENA AND THE ANCIENT EMPIRE.

In the eighth nome of Upper Egypt, West of the river in the direction of the Libyan mountains, there stood a small town called by the Egyptians Tini, a name which the Greeks converted, after their manner, into This or Thinis. It was the ancient metropolis of the eighth nome. Lying near to the great city of Abydus, Tini probably formed only a separate quarter of that celebrated city, as would appear from numerous notices in the old Egyptian records. The town of Tini had chosen for its tutelar deity the warlike god Anhur, whom the Greeks and Romans identified with their Mars, while at Abydus Osiris was worshipped with the most holy rites of the dead. Both cities have now vanished from the face of the earth; but their memory is preserved by the vast necropolis, and by the splendid buildings of several sanctuaries which the pious faith of the Egyptians raised on the outermost border of the desert, at the place which the present modern inhabitants of this country call by the Arabic name of Harabat-el-Madfouneh (Harabat the sunken).

Although we have next to nothing to relate of the history of the little town of Tini, which in the time of the

Roman dominion, was only known for its dyers of purple, it must have enjoyed a very great reputation among the ancient Egyptians. As late as the period of the nineteenth dynasty, the highest functionaries of the blood royal were distinguished by the title of 'princes of Tini,' a mark of honour such as only existed in the following titles, 'princes of Kush and princes of Hineb' (the moon town, Eileithyiapolis). The highest glory of this town was undoubtedly founded on the circumstance that the first king of the Egyptians, and his successors who composed the two first dynasties, according to the enumeration of Manetho, were descended from a family which sprung from this place. The name of this ancestor of all Egyptian kings—whom the classic authors call indifferently Min, Menis, Meines, Meinios, and Meneres—was in the native language Mena, an appellation which will be best translated in English by its original meaning, 'the constant.' All that we know of him is limited to some notices which we owe to classic authors. According to them this pharaoh was the first legislator of the Egyptians, but they accused him of having perverted the good manners of ancient times, and of having replaced sobriety and a simple manner of living by royal luxury and sumptuous splendour. They related with regard to this that a long time after him a king named Technactis, or Tnephachthus, the father of the unfortunate king Bocchoris, having experienced, during an expedition against the revolted Arabs, the advantages of a modest repast and a bed of straw, was so much disgusted at the royal mode of life, that he henceforward adopted

the most simple frugality. He even ordered the sacerdotal caste to engrave upon a stone a decree containing curses pronounced against King Mena, and to place it in the temple of Amon at Thebes.

According to another tradition, Mena was the first to lay down rules for the worship of the gods and the service of the temples. It was he who founded the brilliant capital of the ancient empire, the town of Memphis, after having changed the course of the river to increase the ground which was to contain his new residence. By the construction of an enormous dyke, the Nile, which before the reign of this king ran close to the Libyan chain, was carried more to the east; its ancient bed was filled up, and thus a site was formed for Memphis. This history has nothing very surprising or astonishing. In our own day it has been possible to fill up a branch of the Nile, and to unite the island of Jezireh, opposite the port of Boulak, to the ground on the other side, situated towards the west.

M. Linant-Bey, one of the most industrious improvers of modern Egypt, has declared his opinion, founded on an examination of the formation of the ground, that the great dyke of Cocheiche is probably that which King Mena caused to be constructed 6,000 years ago, to give to the Nile its eastern direction. At the present day this dyke serves to restrain all the waters of inundation which arrive in Egypt. By means of large sluices, constructed in the dyke, the waters are allowed to flow over Lower Egypt or into the Nile as they are required. It is thus that a complement of inundation is produced in the lower basins, or a rise of

height in the level of the river, which in the neighbourhood of Cairo sometimes rises as much as three feet. M. Linant-Bey would place the spot at which the Nile is diverted towards the east at two miles to the south of Memphis.

On this site which had been won from the river Mena constructed the new town, with its houses, its fortifications, and its temples. The Egyptians, like the ancients in general, commenced the foundation of their towns by the construction of a temple, which formed the centre of the town which was to be built. When new temples were erected they became the occasion for creating new quarters, which extended round the centre, with which they formed one town. The names given to these sanctuaries applied also to the colonies in their neighbourhood, and thus several different names are applied to a single town.

If we follow the data of the lists of the districts, we arrive at knowing many an obscure designation, and gain a clear understanding of the historical inscriptions which speak of Memphis. For the sake of example, we will mention all about the Memphitic district which the above-mentioned lists tell us.

The chief name of the town, as also of the district, viz. Anbu-hat, or the White Wall, was derived from the fortified part of it, the origin of which may be traced into the old empire. The town in general bore the title Men-nofer (the good place), more seldom Cha-nofer (the good appearance), or Macha-ta, 'the land o the scales.' The holy appellation of the oldest kingly residence was the most common of all, viz. Ha-ka-patah,

'house of worship of Patah,' derived from the chief god of the district, the holy architect Patah. The whole district, in the middle of which the new town of Mena arose, bore the name of Sochet-Ra, that is, 'the field of the sun,' often confounded with the neighbouring appellation of Sha-ament, 'the country of the inundation of the West.' The god Patah was worshipped in the temple Za-Patah or Pi-Patah, 'temple of Patah.' The dead of the Memphitic district rested in 'the land of life,' Anch-ta, of the towns in the stony desert in sight of the town of Memphis. Osiris, the judge of the dead underground, had his special temple—his serapeum, as the Greeks called it—bearing the name Han-ub, 'house of gold.' The holy canal at the place of the harbour was called Chet, or Mu-khet, i.e. 'the waters of the voyage below.' It carried off the floods of the inundation to the low-lying lands behind 'the great circumference,' Shen-ur. We have already spoken of the god Patah; not seldom he bears the additional appellation Sokar or Sokari, the traces of which still seem to appear in the name of the modern village Sakkarah, in the vicinity of the old town of Memphis. The wife of the god, lion-headed, the goddess with the sun's disc, bore the name Sochet, and their son was Nofer-atum, later I-m-hotep (in Greek Imuthes), the Esculapius of the Egyptian mythology. The monuments further inform us that a holy snake, under the name Zotef, was worshipped in the temple of the god, and that the acacia and the mulberry, and the persea, were counted among the holy trees in Memphis. The bark of the god bore the name 'ship of the lord of

eternity;' his high priest was called, in allusion to the highest title of the god, 'foreman,' while the priestess had the flattering appellation, 'the beautifully formed.' On the first day of the months Tybi and Mechir were the chief feasts in Memphis.

Mennofer is the most constantly occurring name of this city. The Greeks made of this Memphis, and the Copts Memphi, while in cuneiform the Egyptian name is rendered by Mimpi. The traces of the ancient name are very clearly preserved in the modern name of Tel-Monf, by which the Arabs of the present day designate a heap of ruins on the site of the royal town of the ancient Pharaohs.

All that remains of this celebrated city at the present time consists of heaps of fragments of columns and altars, and carvings which once belonged to the temples of Memphis—a far-stretching mass of mounds out of which shine in the clear sunlight the remains of the half-destroyed chambers and halls of ancient houses. Those travellers who visit the remains of Memphis in the hope of recognising some vestiges worthy of its fame, will be little satisfied with the sad prospect which meets the eye.

Only in imagination can we see the past greatness of Memphis, and only then can we appreciate a pilgrimage to the grave of this old royal seat, and a town where once the celebrated temple of Patah, the Egyptian Hephaistos, rose in all its proud splendour—now a palm grove and a wide plain cultivated by fellahs of the neighbouring Arab village of Mit-Rahineh.[1]

[1] The name of this village, well known to all travellers to the

The temple of the divine creator of the world, the central point of the destroyed city, lay on the south side of the salt-encrusted plain which stretches between the 'Swine's-hill,' Kum-el-Khanzeer, on the east, and the little Arab village of El-Kassarieh on the west. It stretches out in a direction from north to south, and the grand statue of Ramses II., now buried in a giant's grave and already reached by the water of the inundation, shows beyond doubt the place where the splendid gate of the temple with its double towers raised its dark masses in the blue expanse of heaven. The existence of the holy lake to the north of the great statue of Ramses is indicated by the inscription on a massive block, which in the middle of the plain lying on its back, turns upwards its engraved holy writing. In the immediate neighbourhood of the village of El-Kassarieh (strangely enough this name means 'wash-pot'), there show themselves in grim chaos the broken remains and columns of a temple of which the engraved inscriptions name Ramses II. as the founder and builder. This building lay from east to west. Ramses II. raised it of beautifully-polished blocks of granite and alabaster, to the honour of the divine Patah.

It seems that in the Middle Ages the ruins of Memphis were still so well preserved that their materials and the manner in which they were worked excited the admiration of the Arab visitors to the place. We possess

site of ancient Memphis, is evidently of old Egyptian origin, since it is derived from the common appellation for many places situated on the great canals—Menat-ro-hinnu, 'the port at the mouth of the canal.'

a poetical description of the ruins and wonders of ancient Memphis in the writings of the Arabian physician Abd-ul-Latif, in the thirteenth century. He begins his description with the very excellent remarks which I quote from the admirable translation of the Baron Silvestre de Sacy:—'In spite of the immense extent of this city, and of the high antiquity to which it reaches back; in spite of all the varied forms of government under the yoke of which it has passed in the course of ages, and although successive nations have done all in their power to raze it to the ground, making its smallest vestiges disappear and obliterating even the least traces of it, while they transported elsewhere the stones and other materials of which it was constructed, destroyed its edifices and mutilated the statues which adorned them; in short, not to weary the reader with all the causes of destruction contributed by 4,000 years and more, its ruins still offer to the eyes of the spectator a collection of wonderful works which confound the intellect, and to describe which the most eloquent man would labour in vain. The longer we look upon the scene, the higher rises the admiration it inspires; and every new glance that we cast upon the ruins reveals a new charm. Scarcely have they awakened a distinct idea in the soul of the spectator, than a still more admirable idea suggests itself; and just as you believe you have gained complete knowledge of them, at that very moment the conviction forces itself on the mind, that what you think you know is still very far from the truth.' After this enthusiastic burst of admiration, the learned physician launches out into a description of the celebrated

green chamber hewn out of a single block of stone, which was nine cubits high, eight wide and six long, and was covered with figures of men and animals of extraordinary proportions.

The repeated excavations which have been undertaken in our day on the ancient soil of Memphis, in hope of striking upon monuments of historical value, have given results hardly worth naming. It seems that the immense masses of stone used in the building of the temples were transported to Cairo, to supply the materials needed for the mosques, palaces, and houses of the well-preserved city of the Khalifs.

Next to Thebes, the royal capital of Upper Egypt Memphis is the city about which the speaking stones and the written rolls have the most to tell us. In our special work on the geography of ancient Egypt, we have cited from the monuments the number of temples and sanctuaries which once formed the glory of the city, from the house of the deity Patah to the abode dedicated to the foreign goddess Astarte. The high priests of Patah, like their fellows of Thebes, played an important part at different epochs of the history of Egypt. We find among their number princes of the blood royal. As an example we may name the prince Khamus, a favourite son of Ramses II., who died early, and who gave rich gifts of honour to the temples of the gods, and fulfilled the rules of the holy service. With the decline of the empire the high priests of Memphis also, like those of Thebes, lost their importance, when the two cities ceased to be the famous residences of the Pharaohs.

Along the far-stretching margin of the desert, from

Abu-Roash to Meidum (the ancient city of Mi-tum), lay in silent tranquillity the necropolis of Memphis with its wealth of tombs, overlooked by the stupendous buildings of the pyramids, which rose high above the monuments of the noblest among the noble families, who, even after life was done, reposed in deep pits at the feet of their lords and masters. The contemporaries of the third, fourth, and fifth dynasties are here buried; but their memory has been preserved by pictures and writings on the walls of the sacrificial chambers built over their tombs. From this source flows the stream of tradition which carries us back to the time and to the soil of the oldest kingdom in the land. If this countless number of tombs had been preserved to us, it would have been an easy task to reconstruct before our eyes, in uninterrupted succession, the genealogy of the kings and of the noble lines related to them. Fate, however, has not granted this; for their monuments, names, and deeds, are buried and forgotten; but even the few remaining heaps of ruins enable us to imagine the lost in all its greatness.

In that obscure age of antiquity, when the symmetrical building of the pyramids and the well-constructed rooms of the sepulchral chambers demanded a high intelligence and a skilful hand, the office of architect was the occupation of the noblest men at the king's court. Pharaoh's architects (the Mur-ket), who were often of the number of the king's sons and grandsons, were held in high honour, and the favour of their lord gave them his own daughters out of the women's house as wives.

For these reasons Pharaoh's architects seem worthy

of remembrance. The following names of royal architects have survived the destroying hand of time, and are still preserved:—

Heka, architect of the Pharaoh Senoferu;
Sem-nofer, married to a king's granddaughter, named Amon-Zefes;
Khufu-hotep, husband of the king's daughter Hontnes;
Khufu-ankh;
Mer-ab, a king's child, son of the Pharaoh Khufu and his wife Setat;
Pirson, husband of Khenshut of the blood royal;
Ti, a man of low extraction, but married to the lady Nofer-hotep from the women's house of the king;
Hapu, architect of the Pharaoh Teta of the sixth dynasty;
Meri-ra-ankh, a celebrated architect under King Pepi of the same dynasty.

Besides these may be named Pehen-ka, Ra-ur, Ai, Uah-mer, besides other names which may have escaped our researches among the ruins of that perished world.

A higher office, according to the testimony of the speaking stones, belonged to the nobleman who bore the dignity of 'prophet of the Pyramid of Pharaoh.' This officer's duty was to praise the memory of the deceased king, and to devote the god-like image of the sovereign to enduring remembrance. The honour of the office was mentioned in the prophet's own tomb, and was associated with the name of his deified king. Thanks to this ancient usage, the famous names of the ancient Pharaohs were known to us long before the discovery at Abydus of the table of the kings, but without the order of their succession.

The eloquent language of the stones, speaking to us from the tombs of the necropolis of Memphis, tells us much concerning the usages of Pharaoh and his court. The king himself is officially desig-

nated by the most complete title, 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt.' His high dignity is also concealed under other names, as, for instance, Perao—that is, 'of the great house,' well known as Pharaoh in the Bible. For his subjects the pharaoh was a god (nuter) and lord (neb) par excellence. At sight of him they were obliged to prostrate themselves, rubbing the ground with their noses; sometimes, by the gracious order of the king, they only touched the knee of the omnipotent. In speaking of him, they very often used the words 'his holiness.' They also designated him very respectfully by a grammatical construction, which in the translation is best rendered by the word 'he' (the king).

It is the pharaoh who gives his orders to be executed by his servants, testifying his satisfaction by nominations, presents, and other acts of grace. He distributes decorations (for example, the necklace of gold nub), and makes rich presents of lands and slaves and maidens. His daughters, the princesses, went out of the women's house and married the highest and noblest in the land, and young men of talent and promise were admitted to the society of the children of the king. The wife of the king, as also the remaining bevy of royal ladies, the daughters and granddaughters, were honoured by the titles of 'prophetesses of the goddesses Hathor or Neit,' and are found 'in the house of the royal women,' the pharaonic harem, placed under the superintendence of officers who enjoyed the confidence of the king. 'The house of the children of the king' was under the direction of a lord of the court,

on whom fell the responsibility of the health and education of the pharaonic family.

The royal court was composed of the nobility of the country, and of the servants of inferior rank. Not only the splendour of their origin gave the nobles dignity in the eyes of the people, but still more their wisdom, manners, and virtues. The persons belonging to the first class of the nobility generally bore the title Erpa, 'hereditary highness;' Ha, 'prince;' Set, 'the illustrious;' Semer-ua-t, 'the intimate friend.' The affairs of the court and of the administration of the country were conducted by 'the chiefs' or the secretaries, and by a numerous class of scribes.

The names of the officials were 'the overseer,' Mur; 'the enlightener,' Sehat; 'the great,' Ur, or 'the follower' Emkhet, who were attached to the person of the king himself. A steward had charge of the king's household, another had charge of the wardrobe, another acted as hairdresser, took care of the nails of his holiness, and prepared his bath. One was over the singing and playing, and prepared the means for the pharaoh's pleasures and enjoyments. Other nobles were charged with the administration of the magazines of wheat, dates and fruits in general, of the cellar, of the chamber for oil, of the bakery, and the butchering, and the stables. The treasury filled with gold and silver, and the offices for expenses and receipts, had their special superintendents. The Court of Exchequer was not wanting. The private domains, the farms, the palaces, and even the lakes and canals of the king, were placed under the care of inspectors. By Pharaoh's order skilful persons

of the class of the nobles were appointed to the charge of the buildings and all kinds of work in stone. From the caverns of the rocks of Ta-roou (the Troja of the Greeks and Romans, the Tura of the present Arabs), in sight of Memphis, they brought the white limestone for building the royal pyramids and the tombs, and for artistic works, as sarcophagi and columns. They also betook themselves to the southern lands, at the opposite boundary of the country, to loosen the hard granite from the Red mountain behind the town of Sooan (the Assooan of our day), and construct rafts for the more easy conveyance of the vast masses of stone to the lower country in the favourable time of the high water.

The dreaded company of the overseers were set over the wretched people, who were urged to hard work more by the punishment of the stick than words of warning.

The population inhabiting the towns, as well as the villages of the country, was governed by the prefects of the pharaoh. The judges watched over the strict obedience to the written law, and administered justice to the oppressed people, whose complaints the attorneys (Anwälte) of the king were bound to hear. A great variety of punishments were administered to an unjust accuser by the provost-marshal.

The armed force—which was composed of young foot soldiers armed with clubs, axes, bows and arrows—was placed under the command of experienced officers. A general-in-chief prepared the campaign, organised the masses, made the necessary preparations for military

expeditions, and gave the orders for battle. Of a more peaceful kind was the much-praised office of the hir-seshta, which literally means 'teacher of the secret,' for they possessed all hidden wisdom in these ancient times. Those learned in the secrets of the heavens looked upwards and explained the ever-changing courses of the brilliant stars. Others are called 'the hir-seshta of all the countries.' If we are not mistaken, by these are meant the geographers of Memphis. Some are found with the title 'the hir-seshta of the depth.' If we are not mistaken these were learned in all which the earth conceals in its depths, and were initiated in the special knowledge of the soil. Important must have been their judgment before they undertook sinking their deep wells. We also meet with 'the hir-seshta of the secret words,' literary men and composers of deeply thought out themes, and 'hir-seshta of the sacred language,' the learned grammarians of the pharaonic court. The monuments mention most frequently the 'hir-seshta of the pharaoh,' or 'of all the orders of the pharaoh.' These were the learned secretaries of the king. After them we also find the 'hir-seshta who examine the words,' no doubt literary men with an elevated style, composers of the first rank, without we prefer to consider them as judges charged with the enquiries in law-suits.

The numerous company of scribes were divided into many branches, according to their business and positions. At the court of the king or in the halls of the noblemen, obedient to the orders of their masters, they wrote with the light reed pen the manifold events of domestic

life on the smooth rolls, accurately recorded the income and expenditure of their master, and kept the books in good order. The way was open to any scribe of talent to arrive at the summit of the pharaonic bureaucracy. The lower class of servants and the workmen artists were divided into several ranks, who obeyed their chiefs and executed their orders. Thus the court and the public administration were perfectly organised; each kept his place according to his dignity; the affairs followed their regular course, and the pharaoh was the prime mover of the machine of government. Blind obedience was the oil which caused the harmonious working of the machinery.

And all this world, buried for 6,000 years in the sands of the desert, under the ruins of its own gigantic works, opens the mysteries of its public and private life to a posterity which profoundly admires its moral greatness, its perfection of mind, its art and its administration. But where is the modern hir-seshta to lift the veil which still hides the origin of these men of yore?

We will conclude this section with the king by which we commenced it—with the Pharaoh Mena. The ancients commemorate him so far as to attribute to him a campaign against the Libyan tribes. The end of this ancestor of the Egyptian dynasties was unfortunate. He was seized by a crocodile, and became the prey of the savage beast. Such is the story of the ancients. Was the Typhonic Set, the lord of the horrid water-monsters, embittered with envious hatred against the founder of the most ancient state?

CHAPTER VI.

THE SUCCESSORS OF MENA.

THE following is the table of the pharaohs who succeeded Mena. This list is due to the discoveries of the tables of Saqqarah and of Abydos, together with the fragments of the papyrus of Turin, which in its perfect state contained the same names, with the addition of the reign of each king. The names and the figures given in the Manethonian Canon complete our table. The Manethonian list of kings answering to those found on the monuments is given for the sake of comparison.

First Dynasty.

The Monuments.	Manetho.	
1. Mena	1. Menes	62 yrs.
2. Tota	2. Athothis	57 „
3. Atot	3. Kenkenes	31 „
4. Ata	4. Uenephes I.	23 „
	5. Uenephes II.	42 „
5. Sapti	6. Usaphaidos	20 „
6. Mirbapen (Mi-ba) . . .	7. Miebidos	26 „
7. (name very difficult to read).	8. Semempses	18 „
8. Qebeh	9. Bieneches	26 „

Second Dynasty.

9. Butau	1. Boethos	38 „
10. Kakau	2. Kaiechos	39 „

Second Dynasty (continued).

11. Bainnuter		3. Binothris	47 yrs.
12. Utnas		4. Tlas	17 „
13. Senta		5. Sethenes	41 „
		6. Chaires	17 „
14. Noferka (-ra)		7. Nephercheres	25 „
15. Noferka-Sokari,	8 y. 3 m. 4 d.	8. Sesochris	48 „
16. Hutefa . .	8 m. 4 d.	9. Cheneres	30 „

Third Dynasty.

17. Bubui or Ta Tai,	27 y. 2 m. 1 d.	1. Necherophes	28 „
18. Nebka .	19 y. . .	2. Tosorthros	29 „
19. Toser-(sa)		3. Tyreis	7 „
20. (Toser)-tota . . .		4. Mesochris	17 „
21. Setes		5. Soophis	16 „
22. Nebkara		6. Tosertasis	19 „
23. Noferkara			
24. Huni		7. Aches	42 „
25. Senoferu		8. Sephouris	30 „
		9. Kerpheres	26 „

The reliable lists of the stone monuments show that the Greek list must be of very old origin; but, on the other hand, it will be well observed in what a wretched state, owing to the hands of ignorant copyists, the work of the Egyptian priest Manetho has reached us.

Even a cursory examination of the names belonging to the above-mentioned kings suggests a curious remark, namely, that these names, with the exception of two or three which only appear towards the end, do not at all resemble the pharaonic names of succeeding epochs. They have something common, plebeian about them, if we may use such an expression, which contrasts singularly with the splendour and

grandeur contained in the appellations of the pharaohs who succeeded. Besides this the sign ⊙ of the God Ra, the sun, a most essential element in the composition of pharaonic names, only begins to show itself with the 22nd king of the monumental list.

For the most part these names conceal a sense which very clearly recalls the ideas of force and terror inherent in men who first gained dominion over the masses. Mena means 'the constant,' or 'the firm,' he who resists; Tota, 'he who beats;' Kakau, the 'bull of bulls,' also the 'most manly;' Senta, 'the terrible;' Huni, 'he who strikes,' &c. It is only later that the worship of the local gods enters into the composition of the proper names. Then the dynasts like to adopt appellations which recall the principal divinity of their house. The names of Amon, Sebek, Thut, Anhour, and other divinities whom they specially venerated, appear in the cartouches of the kings; while Ra, the king of the universe and the father of gods and men, occupies a place of honour at the head of the cartouches of all the pharaohs.

The name of the 15th king of the list, Noferka-Sokari (perfect through Sokari), is the only one which is composed with the name of a god. As we have already shown, Sokari is a particular denomination of the god of Memphis. But then how is the fact to be explained that a king of Thinis, in Upper Egypt, preferred a title recalling the worship of the divine Sokari, of the capital of Lower Egypt? One thing is certain, that the so-called Thinites must have reigned at Memphis. The tradition is strong that Mena laid out the ground of the

future capital, and that the later descendants of his house kept court in Mennofer, not in Tini.

Unfortunately the information from the monuments about these most ancient rulers of the empire of Egypt begins only with the last pharaohs which were above mentioned in the long list taken from the stone tables of the kings. The Greek accounts give meagre food to those hungry for knowledge in doubtful traditions about the doings of the royal predecessors of the last pharaohs. It is, however, necessary here also to test the faith to be placed in the Manethonian sources, by the information of the monuments.

As in the book of books, Cain's grandson, and grandson's children, were the first men in which want and necessity aroused an inventive genius, leading them to build houses, to raise cattle, and serve as teachers in brass and iron work to later generations, so was it, according to the traditional knowledge of the priest Manetho, borrowed from the well-preserved treasures of the holy books, the peculiar business of the first kings of Egypt to teach the arts, to draw out rules, to lay down the first foundations of knowledge for the use and piety of all then living, and who were to come after; to clothe justice in the form of laws, and in every way to encourage invention.

Mena's son and heir was called Athothis, in the Manethonian description (in this name are included three kings, Tota, Atot, and Ata, according to the stone table of Abydos). He built the king's tower in Memphis, and wrote, wonderful to say, a work on anatomy, 'for he was a physician.' The information

of the monuments is silent about a physician of the name of Tota, Atot, or Ata; mention is only made of a roll of a very ancient book bought in Thebes by Mr. Ebers, which, when Teta sat on the throne, was prized as a means for making the hair grow. More important than this information, interesting at most to hair-dressers, is the fact that the writings of the pharaohs on medical subjects reach back as far as the first dynasty of the Thinites.

As an example we will allude to the great medical papyrus discovered in the necropolis of Memphis, which was added to the collection of the museum of Berlin, about fifty years ago. As we have elsewhere shown, this precious document contains a quantity of receipts for the cure of a certain number of maladies of the nature of leprosy, and many other diseases. In a simple, childish exposition of the construction and mechanism of the body, the writing explained the number and use of the numerous 'tubes.' This manuscript was composed in the reign of Ramses II., but there is a passage in it which throws back the origin of one part of the work to the fifth king of the table of Abydos. This is what the text says on this subject. 'This is the beginning of the collection of receipts for curing leprosy. It was discovered in a very ancient papyrus enclosed in a writing-case, under the feet (of a statue) of the god Anoobis, in the town of Sochem, at the time of the reign of his majesty the defunct king Sapti. After his death it was brought to the majesty of the defunct king Senta, on account of its wonderful value.

'And behold the book was placed again at the feet and well secured by the scribe of the temple and the great physician, the wise Noferhotep. And when this happened to the book at the going down of the sun, he consecrated a meat and drink and incense offering to Isis, the lady, to Hor of Athribis, and the god Khonsoo-Thut of Amkhit.'

What further the priest Manetho was able to tell us of those old times out of his book of kings, appears in meagre extracts in later authors, who have shown their own poverty of intelligence by the miserably ignorant use they have made of this copious document of antiquity. We hear and are astounded at how much there was of importance in the book of the priest.

When King Uenephes (I. 4) ascended the throne the land of Egypt suffered from a great famine. In spite of the hunger and necessity it pleased the ruler to employ his people in the building of a pyramid on the site 'black bull,' Kakami.

The Greeks called this city of the dead of Memphis by the very little altered name of Kochome. Here the bodies of the holy Apis bulls reposed in the serapeum in the desert. The place is near the modern village of Saqqarah, but was situated on the steep heights of the desert, and it is probable that the building with steps, the so-called step pyramid of Saqqarah, whose hollow body concealed the bleached bones of bulls and inscriptions chiselled in the stone relating to the royal name of Apis, was a common grave of the holy bulls which in days gone by King Uenephes consecrated in pious faith to these animals.

Under the reign of King Semempses (I. 8) a number of miracles were observed, and a violent plague gave the black death all around.

When Butau (Boethos II. 1) ascended the throne, the earth opened at Bubastus and swallowed up many people.

There is more of interest in the traditions which the same annalist cites of the time of Kaiechos (in Egyptian ka-kau, 'the bull of bulls'), the successor of the preceding king. Under his reign, he says, was established the worship of the sacred bulls of Hapi (Apis) in the town of Menofer (Memphis), and of Merur or Men, Mnevis, at On, Heliopolis. Pure men served the holy animals, whose departure from the light of the sun was deeply lamented; their corpses, adorned with decorations and coverings, were exposed on high biers. Their name also enters into the composition of the proper names of many distinguished persons.

With regard to the laws of the empire we must pay particular attention to what was ordained by Pharaoh Bainuter (Binothris II. 3) on a particular occasion. As apparently he had no son to succeed to his father's crown on his death, the usage was erected into a standing law for ever by him that the tender sex of the women should share the power of inheriting the throne. The working of this new usage was important for the fate of many a dynasty, as when the queen, after the demise of her husband, took the reins of government or stepped into the place of her youthful son, or when the heiress left by the dead pharaoh, who had not the good fortune to be lamented by a com-

pany of sons, gave her hand to a foreign husband. So far as the monuments which have been carefully examined seem to show, according to the ancient manner and usage, the mother's pedigree had a high value in inheriting, because it gave an unconditional feudal claim to the son as the true heir of 'the father of his mother.'

The husband of a princess heiress from her pharaonic blood had not the least rights under the title of husband, and it was the son issue of this marriage, who, on account of his maternal descent, was regarded as pharaoh by right and by birth. If, on the contrary, a king married a lady of a noble family, either Egyptian or foreign, the children, as appears from certain monumental indications, did not entirely possess a legitimate right to the crown.

The father of the new king was distinguished by the title of 'atef nuter,' 'the father of the divine one,' while the mother is called 'mut suten,' 'the mother of the king.' The succession of the dynasties is founded in the greater number of cases on alliance with princesses heiresses, whether the husband was of pharaonic descent or not. Thus are explained all the difficulties of succession in the royal house.

To mix poetry with prose, the annalist remarks that the government of King Nephercheres (II. 7) was distinguished by a very curious phenomenon, namely, that for eleven days the water of the Nile had the taste of honey. Although the old texts may perhaps have mentioned such a miracle, yet we moderns can feel

no more sympathy with such a fable than we can for the newly-discovered hair ointment of King Teta. The account of King Sesochris (II. 8) by Manetho is not less fabulous. Confounding him with the Sesostris, the sculptured effigies of whom of immense height were well known to the Greeks visiting Asia, he gave him a height of more than five cubits and a breadth of three cubits. In spite of his size he performed nothing which was judged worthy of being transmitted to posterity.

Under the reign of the first king of the third dynasty, Necherophes (this name is completely disfigured, and unlike the old real name), the Libyans revolted against their Egyptian masters. The king succeeded in subduing them by the aid of the fear which an immense increase of the moon caused among his enemies. The successor of this pharaoh, Tosorthros, was distinguished by his knowledge of medicine, which gained for him among the Egyptians the honorary name of the physician-god. He also invented a mode of constructing edifices with carved stone. He also introduced improvements in the painting of the writing.

Here ends, according to the Manethonian writing, the information—half fable, half true—of the first rulers of Egypt, and the strange account of their doings. It teaches us little. We are still waiting for the door of the chamber of the ancestors of the most ancient kingdom to be opened to us.

Near to the door now closed to us stands the venerable and historically true figure of King Senoferu. His name, the meaning of which is 'he who makes good,'

is justified by the fact, that he completed what was wanting in those before him. It is he who gives us the first morning greeting from the most distant ages, for from his time the monuments commence to shed their light and to unroll before our eyes the most ancient epoch of the world. What the wisdom of the Greeks did not disclose, what appeared as a secret to antiquity thirsting after the pure streams of truth, that lies clear before our eyes; for now the eloquent mouth of the dead stones begins to tell us the deeds of hoar antiquity.

With Senoferu begins first the practice, ordained by law, of adding to the name of the ruler on the throne of the pharaohs, which his parents gave him, the cartouche of honour of his holy name, and also to place before the double cartouche of the kings three carefully-chosen sounding titles. The first title always began with a sign which signified the god 'the sun Hor,' who dispenses light and life, blessing and prosperity. His sparrow-hawk adorned with the kingly double crown, serves as the ancient representation of the pharaoh, the lord of the upper and the lower country.

The row of the other titles published in the same manner the honours of each king, 'the lord of both kingly diadems.' The image of honour 'of the golden Hor,' the conqueror of his opponent, stood at the head of the third title. The pharaoh was praised and exalted as a warrior in pompous, stilted words. The holy name of the king framed in a cartouche is easily recognised by the words placed before it: 'the king of

Upper and Lower Egypt.' In the last place, with the fullest writing of all the titles of honour, the especial name of the ruler was placed, which was given him by his father when a child, surrounded, like the holy name, with a cartouche. Before was the standing title 'son of Ra,' that is, the sun-god. The custom in old times required that behind each king's name, as if to remind, the fine sounding name of the pyramid was placed for the better determining of the prince. It was a praiseworthy and pious custom, as often as the king's name or even a great noble's name was mentioned, immediately afterwards to add 'May he live!' 'May he be well!' 'Good health to him!'

So far as we are acquainted with the monuments, King Senoferu is the first ruler who had four titles of honour. Three name him commonly without difference 'the lord of truth;' the fourth is the name Senoferu, by which he was known to his father and his people. On the steep rock of Wady-Magharah, where ancient caverns have been formed by the hand of man, and the traces of the miners are easily discovered, Senoferu appears as a warrior, who strikes to the ground a vanquished enemy with a mighty club. The inscription, engraved by the side of the picture, mentions him clearly by name and with the title of 'vanquisher of foreign peoples' who in his time inhabited the cavernous valleys of the mountains round Sinai. The land, productive of a copper ore, with blue and green precious stones, seems in all ancient history to have been a much coveted possession by the rulers of 'Kemi,' and it was without doubt Senoferu who by the edge of the sword

gained possession of this mountainous peninsula and its foreign people. The soldiers of the king and the troops of miners with the steward and overseer reached the valley of the mines to extract the stone either by a short sea passage from Egypt or by a longer journey on the backs of asses. Even at this day the pilgrim, whom the desire of knowledge brings to these parts, and whose foot treads hurriedly the gloomy, barren valleys of Sinai, sees traces of the old works in the caverns dating from the spring-time of the world's history. He sees and reads on the half-worn stone a vast number of pictures and writings. Standing on the high rock, which boldly commands the entrance to Wady-Magharah, his eye discovers without trouble the last ruins of a strong fortress, whose stout walls once contained huts near a deep well, and protected the Egyptian troops from hostile attack. There was also no want of temples, in which the wanderer raised his hands and eyes in prayer to the divine rulers of the land. Before all others was the sublime Hathor, queen of heaven and earth and the dark depths below, whom the Egyptians worshipped as the protectress of the land of Mafkat, and beside her the sparrow-hawk of Supt, 'the lord of the East,' to whom the same honours were offered.

The princes of the fourth and fifth dynasties maintained with powerful arm what Senoferu had won for them. The mines were permanently worked, the enemy conquered, and the small number of the gods worshipped.

Senoferu thought in time of raising to himself a

worthy monument. The proud building of the pyramid near Meidoum shining in the plain, which green as an emerald stretches eastward to the holy stream, contains, we doubt not, well hidden within it, the body of Senoferu. The name of the building is in good Egyptian Kha, a word which in the old language meant 'the rising,' sometimes 'the festival,' sometimes 'the crown.' Here it was, in close proximity to the pyramid of Meidoum, that some curious natives recently, either by accident or intentionally, discovered the entrance to the tombs of the old time and brought from the night of the grave to the light of day a double picture, a marvel of art, venerable from its antiquity, and exquisite in its workmanship. A long row of pictures and writings, executed with a master's hand in variegated mosaic of most effective colours, gave us clear information of Senoferu and the ancient times. The double picture, a little smaller than the natural size, shows a man and his wife in a dignified attitude sitting by the side of one another in a chair of the form of a die. The brilliancy of the eye—imitated in shining crystal and white ivory, and dark ore, in a masterly manner—had all the appearance of life. This picture is the one of the earliest known date, and will so remain until an older one is found. The man on the right, according to the words on the inscription, once when he enjoyed the light of day, bore the name Rahotep. He was the son of a king (it does not say of what king), and had filled many important offices during his life. He led the warriors in the service of the king, and in On, the town of the god Ra, he executed the

holy office of chief of the priests. His wife, well-known as Nofert ('the beautiful' or 'the good'), was a granddaughter of a king not named.

We now take leave of the time of Senoferu, who, in the written records, had the name of a good king. The old rolls of books which De Prisse obtained possession of in Thebes, and the value of which we shall have to notice hereafter, speak thus of the Pharaoh Senoferu:—'Then died the holiness of King Huni. Then was raised up the holiness of King Senoferu as a good king over the whole country. Then was Kakem appointed governor of the city.'

Table of Kings who composed the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.

Turin Papyrus	Manetho	Table of Abydus	Table of Saqqarah
Fourth Dynasty.			
1 . . 19	1 Soris . . 29		
2 . . 6	2 Suphis . 63	21 Khufuf	17 Khufu
		22 Ratatf	18 Ratatf
3 ....zaf . 6	3 Suphis . 66	23 Khafra	19 Khafra
4 . . 24	4 Mencheres . 63	24 Menkara	20 . . .
5 . . 24	5 Rathoises . 25		21 . . .
6 . . 23	6 Bicheres . 22		22 . . .
7 . . 8	7 Sebercheres . 7	25 Shepseskaf	23 . . .
8 . . x			24 . . .
9 . . x	8 Thamphthis 9		
Fifth Dynasty.			
10 . (2)8	1 Usercheres . 28	26 Uskaf	25 Userka
11 . . 4	2 Sephres . 13	27 Sahura	26 Sahura
12 . . 2		28 Keka	
13 .....ka . 7			
14 . . 12			
1 . . x	3 Nephercheres 20	29 Noferfra	27 Noferarkara
2 . . 7	4 Sisires . . 7		
3 . . x	5 Cheres. . 20		28 Shepeskara
4 . . 11	6 Rathures . 44	30 Ranuser	29 Khanoferra
5 Menkahor 8	7 Mencheres . 9	31 Menkauhor	30 Menkahor
6 Tat . 28	8 Tatcheres . 44	32 Tatkara	31 Tatkara
7 Unas . 30	9 Onnos . . 33	33 Unas	32 Unas

CHAPTER VII.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE FOURTH AND FIFTH DYNASTIES.

(About 3700 to 3300 B.C.—*See List on p. 67.*)

In order to restore the names and order of the Pharaohs for the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties as completely as possible, the data of the two tables of kings, of Abydus and Saqqarah, as well as the surviving fragments of the Turin book of kings, must be compared with the lists of Manetho. By their aid we are enabled to regard the above list (p. 67) as a trustworthy record, approximating very closely to the truth.

The reader will readily obtain the conviction that all the four columns of the table come from one and the same original source, if he takes the trouble to compare carefully with one another the names, succession, and numbers. Nor can he fail to notice what errors have crept into the extracts from Manetho, and how grievously careless transcribers have misplaced the names and numbers of the genuine MS. But even in remote antiquity, uncertainty and doubt seem already to have prevailed as to the succession of kings in the olden time; nay, even the stone monuments differ about their names and order. The enquiry is far from being closed, and it must be left for new discoveries to determine precisely, and finally, the succession and names of the old kings.

According to the sure testimony of the tables of Abydus and Saqqarah, the successor of the good king Senoferu was Khufu. It is he whom the writers of Greek antiquity call sometimes Cheops (Herodotus), Chemmis or Chembes (Diodorus), while the epitomist of Manetho transcribes his name Suphis, and Eratosthenes, in the Theban list of kings, cites it as Saophis. With him begin the memorable traditions of Egyptian history, according to the accounts of the Greek and Roman authors, who without suspicion grafted the information of ancient times upon a modern stock.

No one who has had the happiness—whether from chance or purpose or in the way of his calling—to set foot on the black soil of Egypt, ever turns back on his homeward way before his eyes have looked upon that wonder of antiquity, the threefold mass of the pyramids on the steep edge of the desert, which you reach after an hour's ride over the long causeway from the village of Gizeh, which stands close upon the left bank of the Nile. The desert's boundless sea of yellow sand—whose billows are piled up around the gigantic mass of the Pyramids, deeply entombing the tomb itself, like a corpse long since deceased,—surges hot and dry far up the green meadow, with its scattered vegetation where the grains of sand and corn are intermingled. From the far distance you see the giant forms of the Pyramids, as if they were regularly crystallised mountains, which the ever-creating Nature has called forth from the mother soil of rock, to lift themselves up towards the blue vault of heaven. And yet they are but tombs, built by the hands of men, which, raised by

king Khufu and two other Pharaohs of the same family and dynasty, have been the admiration and astonishment alike of the ancient and modern world, as an incomparable work of power. Perfectly adjusted to the cardinal points of the horizon—the S. and N., the E. and W.,—they differ in breadth and height, as is shown by the measurements of Colonel Vyse:—

	Height.	Breadth at base.
1. Pyramid of Khufu:	450·75 feet.	746 feet (Eng).
2. Pyramid of Khafra:	447·5 „	690·75 „
3. Pyramid of Menkara:	203 „	352·878 „

The construction of these enormous masses was long an almost insoluble enigma for experts in such work; but the younger generation, applying its enquiring spirit to the unknown solution, has succeeded in stripping off the outer shell, so as to find the kernel. According to their ancient usages and customs, the Egyptians, while they still sojourned, in health and spirits, in the light of the sun-god Ra,—who was daily born in royal splendour in the East, to bathe himself after his day's labour in the sea of night in the West,—were still ever mindful to turn their looks to the region where the departing Ra took leave of life, where the door of the grave opened, where the body, well concealed, at length found rest, to rise again to a new existence after an appointed time of long, long years; while the soul, though bound to the body, was at liberty to leave the grave and return to it during the daytime in any form it chose.

In such a belief it was the custom betimes to dig the grave in the form of a deep shaft in the rock, and

above 'this eternal dwelling' to raise a superstructure of sacrificial chambers, sometimes only a hall, sometimes several apartments, and to adorn them richly with coloured writing and painted sculptures, as was becoming to a house of pleasure and joy. Not seldom did death advance with a quick step, and pitilessly carried off the builder from life before his work was finished and the last hand had put the last stroke. In such a case the eye of the beholder finds pictures which the skilful hand of the draftsman sketched in outline with a red crayon on the polished surface of the stone wall, but time was not left for the painter to fill in the empty spaces of the picture with bright and varied colours. Frequently whole or half walls, often this or that piece of the picture, shows that the whole work still awaited its completion, when suddenly the early death of the builder put an end quite unexpected to the design and measure of the work. What, in the case of the tombs of the nobility, was a sad stoppage to the perfect completion of the design, must also have appeared enormous in the royal building of the Pyramids, when a Pharaoh departed from the light of day. Therefore he began his work from his accession. As soon as he mounted the throne, the sovereign gave orders to a nobleman, the master of all the buildings of his land, to plan the work and cut the stone. The kernel of the future edifice was raised on the limestone soil of the desert, in the form of a small pyramid built in steps, of which the well-constructed and finished interior formed the king's eternal dwelling, with his stone sarcophagus lying on the rocky floor.

Let us suppose that this first building was finished while the Pharaoh still lived in the bright sunlight. A second covering was added, stone by stone, on the outside of the kernel; a third to this second; and to this even a fourth; and the mass of the giant building grew greater the longer the king enjoyed existence. And then, at last, when it became almost impossible to extend the area of the pyramid further, a casing of hard stone, polished like glass, and fitted accurately into the angles of the steps, covered the vast mass of the king's sepulchre, presenting a gigantic triangle on each of its four faces.

More than seventy such pyramids once rose on the margin of the desert, each telling of a king, of whom it was at once the tomb and monument. Had not the greater number of these sepulchres of the Pharaohs been destroyed almost to the foundation, and had the names of the builders of those which still stand been accurately preserved, it would have been easy for the enquirer to prove and make clear by calculation what was originally, and of necessity, the proportion between the masses of the pyramids and the years of the reigns of their respective builders.

The name 'pyramid'—first invented by the ancients to denote the tombs of the Egyptian kings, and still used in geometry to this day—is of Greek origin. The Egyptians themselves denoted the pyramid—both in the sense of a sepulchre and of a figure in Solid Geometry—by the word 'abumir'; while, on the other hand, the word 'pir-am-us' is equivalent to the 'edge of the pyramid,' namely, the four edges extend-

ing from the apex of the pyramid to each corner of the quadrangular base.

The fact, however, which the ancients never knew, or which they have persistently neglected to mention, is the special proper name which was assigned to every pyramid to distinguish it from its neighbours. Thus, the sepulchral monument of king Khufu bore the name of honour 'Khut,' *i.e.*, 'the Lights,' and this word frequently appears as an addition to the royal name of Khufu. The stones, which the master's careful consideration chose for the building of 'the Lights,' were laboriously quarried out of the rock in three different places by the grievously oppressed workmen. The material—a spongy limestone without firmness—from which the inner kernel of the building was constructed and which remained afterwards hidden from every eye, was found close at hand; for the native rock on which the future building was raised yielded it in abundance to an unknown depth. The better sort of stone, chosen for the steps and the successive layers, was drawn upon rollers along the causeway (above half a mile long) which extends from the mountain on the right of the river to the plateau of the pyramids. To the present day the traveller is amazed at the number of gigantic caverns which traverse the range of Mokattam in a long series from north to south, from Turah to Massaarah. These are the names of two villages lying close to the river, inhabited by Arabs, who follow the laborious occupation, like the ancients thousands of years ago, of cutting the stone in the neighbouring quarries and bringing it to the river on bullock-carts

or commodious tramways, and putting it on board the vessels waiting at the bank.

The name of Turah, well-known to the Greeks in the form of Troja, is of very ancient origin. As soon as the kings began to pile up pyramids, the writings of that early time mention the district of Tu-roau, that is 'the mountain of the great quarry,' in which the busy population of stone-cutters hewed innumerable blocks out of the walls of rock. An official called 'mur' governed the place and people, and carefully executed the Pharaoh's orders.

The splendid covering of the pyramid of 'lights' was costly stone brought down the river from a great distance to its banks in the Memphian territory. On the southern border of Egypt, in close neighbourhood to the place called Suan (Syene, now Assuan), is still situated, now as then, the 'red mountain' (Tu-tesher), composed of a granite sprinkled with black and red, as hard as iron, and brilliantly beautiful when polished. In the quarries of the Red Mountain there always prevailed a stirring life, since the hardness, brilliancy, and durability of the syenite—well fitted for buildings to last for ever—made the possession of this stone much desired; and the kings vied with one another in the vain conceit to have the fame of subduing, by the hands of men and the clever inventive genius of the master, the opposition of the hardest material which Nature had created. The traces of this labour and severe work are still left visible from those ancient times: here may be clearly seen the sharp stroke of the chisel, there the mining hole; again at another

place we meet with the form of a giant statue, like a form in a mould; there hangs along its whole length, as if it grew there, the fourth side of an obelisk still in the rock, as if it was waiting for the master to loosen it from its bed. It lies there as if under a magic spell, in this dead world full of ancient life, which rises to the highest summit of humanity, and whose pulse beats in the inscriptions. It must not be thought that works like the construction of the pyramids and the temples were not considered by the ancient Egyptians as labours of enormous difficulty. The texts, more than once, speak of the merit of high functionaries who were charged by the pharaonic houses to cut the blocks in the quarries and transport them by way of the Nile to their place of destination. The statement of Herodotus, that ten years were necessary to draw the stones from the quarries and to arrange the base and underground chambers of the pyramid of Khufu (twenty years in all were spent in its erection) is extremely probable.

The few monuments that remain of his time present to us King Khufu under a less unfavourable aspect than the traditions of the ancients would lead us to suppose. According to them this pharaoh was a brutal man and a tyrant, and forced people to compulsory labour. Animated by bad intentions, it is said that he closed the sanctuaries of the divinities, because he was afraid that the prayers and sacrifices of the people would encroach on their time for work; also, that he was so detested for his actions by all the Egyptians that they would not, after his death, even pronounce his name. In contradiction to this statement, the official language

of the monuments attests that King Khufu was one of the most active and valiant pharaohs. The valleys of Sinai beheld the warriors of this king who victoriously conquered the inhabitants of that country. The tables on the rock at Wady-Maghara represent him as the annihilator of his enemies. He founded a number of new towns in Egypt, the names of which are still read in the geographic texts which cover the walls of the mortuary chapels of his epoch.

The three small pyramids which rise opposite the east side of the great pyramid, without doubt belong to the wives or children of Khufu. It is a fact which the latest researches have gained for science that the great number of tombs built on the plateau of the desert around the great pyramids of Gizeh belonged to princes and nobles of the epoch of the fourth dynasty. All the nobility of this epoch chose their tomb in the neighbourhood of the pyramids, which contained the mummies of their ancient masters.

The successor of Khufu bears the name of Ratatef. He is little known, and we owe the mention of his name especially to the tables of Saqqarah and Abydus, The Greeks knew nothing of his existence, giving as the immediate successor of Khufu, Khafra, the third king of this dynasty, or, as they call him, Chephren, or Kephren, or Chabryes. They consider him sometimes as the brother, sometimes as the son, of Khufu. Who can be certain when the stones are silent? The pyramid which he raised as his funeral monument, and of which we have already given the principal dimensions, is close to that of Khufu. According to the texts it is

distinguished by the particular name of Urt, that is, 'the great.' If the monuments tell us little in illustration of the history of this pharaoh, his reputation has been all the same made for ever by the wonderful workmanship of his statues.

Only a few years ago there rose out of the deep sand of the desert, which, like a stream, encircles the image of the Sphinx, to the astonishment of all, that building which to this day is a mystery to the enquirer as to the age, origin, and object of the whole work. Small passages, then broad halls, then obscure small side rooms, succeeded one another, built with well-cut, huge blocks of hard-coloured stone from Suan, and shining yellow alabaster, fitted to a hair's breadth block to block, the corner-stone like a vice, alternately catching the opposite wall, all smooth and well fitted in a straight line and in a right angle. Bare of all marks or inscriptions, the building is a mysterious work of the foretime, when history had not yet been written. Who was the lord whose mouth pronounced the words, 'It shall be'? Who was the master whose clear intellect laid down the plan of the building? Whence came the giant race of men who loosed these stones of tons' weight from their bed, cut them with their sharp edges, and smoothed them; and then brought them from the southern boundary by the stream downwards to the edge of the sandy desert, and there fitted them together in the selected place? As great and gigantic as was the work, so great and unexplainable remains the riddle of its existence. Eastwards, the stone-covered soil showed, in a long hall, the shaft of a well, filled with

clear water, in whose depths once, in the old time, for reasons to us unknown, a number of statues of King Khafra were rather thrown than sunken with care. The greater number of the statues suffered from the fall, and the noble work was in ruins. Only one survived the fall, and, preserved with only slight injuries, gives us Khafra's sitting figure of royal appearance, dignified in look and manner.

Behind the king seated, the figure of a sparrow-hawk spreads its wings in calm repose, as if to protect the royal lord. The name and titles of the king appear in writing on the upper part of the base of the statue, close to his naked foot. The polish of the stone—a diorite—shines out of a green colour. It was seldom chosen for the execution of a monument.

As the discovery of the statues of King Khafra has proved an unparalleled addition to the history of the old empire, and the greatest treasure of antiquity, so we have not nearly yet exhausted the information to be derived from the statue of Khafra. As in the wooden statue of that Sheikh-el-Bellud, which was brought to the light, to the astonishment of the world, from the tombs at Saqqarah; as in the bright-coloured statues of limestone, which left the narrow 'Serdaub' of the tombs as witnesses of ancient life, to greet the youthful world of the new times; as every artistic production of those days, both picture, writing, and sculpture, bears the stamp of the highest perfection of art—so the statue of Khafra also teaches us that in the beginning of history their works were an honour to the artists.

They also prove that the Egyptians in those remote times were well acquainted with the secret of overcoming the difficulties which the hardness of the stone offered to them. Without the use of steel, or the instruments and machines which modern art and industry have invented to facilitate work, the ancient Egyptians had acquired a technical knowledge and practice of which we do not yet possess adequate ideas. The fact is incontestable that the artists of our epoch remain confounded and stupefied in the presence of these monuments, and that they cannot give us a satisfactory answer on the question of the execution of these master-pieces of the highest antiquity.

There is, from west to east, almost in the same line with Khafra's pyramid, a colossal figure of a lion lying down, with the head of a man, better known under the name of the Sphinx, which the Greek travellers gave to this monster. It is the Abool-hôl, 'the father of terror,' of the Arabs. It is now half buried in the sands of the desert. In ancient times, and as late as the times of the Greeks and Romans, this figure was of free access on all sides.

In quiet repose, the lion stretches out his paws, between which a narrow path leads to the temple at the breast of the monster; and a memorial stone, richly ornamented with pictures and writing, announces that this was a gift of honour from the fourth Thutmes to the Sphinx. Greeks and Romans seldom left this consecrated spot without engraving a memorial of their visit on the rock in their own language. For the body of the lion was of the living rock, but fashioned by the

artist's hand to imitate more truly the appearance which a sport of nature had formed. Then where the holes in the stone interrupted the rounding of the body, a light mason's work was applied, to fill in what was wanting in the form.

The holy characters of the writing in the full flow of the language tell us in poetical phrases how one fine day the pharaoh mounted to the Sphinx to look at the heavenly face of his father. The words disappear towards the end, for time and the hand of man have erased what towards the conclusion fell from the poet's mouth. King Khafra was named in it, but it does not seem probable thence to conclude that Khafra first caused the lion to be executed. As another inscription teaches us, King Khafra had already seen the monster, or in other words says that already before him the statue existed, the work of an older pharaoh.

To the north of this huge form lay the temple of the goddess Isis; another dedicated to the god Osiris had its place on the southern side. A third temple was dedicated to the Sphinx. The inscription on the stone speaks as follows of these temples: 'He, the living Hor, king of the upper and the lower country, Khufu, he, the expender of life, founded a temple of the goddess Isis, the queen of the pyramid, beside the god's house of the Sphinx, north-west from the god's house and the town of Osiris, the lord of the place of the dead (Usiri nebrosata). He built his pyramids near the temple of the goddess, and he built one pyramid to the king's daughter, Hontsen, near this temple.' In another place the writing on the stone tells us: 'He, the living Hor,

king of the upper and the lower country, Khufu, caused to be consecrated the holy utensils copied on the surface of the monuments, to his mother Isis, the mother of the gods, who is Hathor, to the ruler and mistress of the place of the dead. He has arranged afresh their divine service, and built for her, in stone, the temple, choosing for her the company of the heavenly inhabitants of her dwelling.'

Although the monument of which we have reproduced a part of the texts is not contemporary with the time of Khufu, and dates from a late epoch in the history of Egypt, nevertheless this witness of antiquity loses nothing of its historical value.

We also completely share the opinion of M. de Rougé, who understands historically the words we have mentioned in the same way as we have done. The Sphinx is called in the text 'hu,' a word which designates the man-headed lion, while the real name of the god represented by the Sphinx was Hormakhu, that is to say, 'Horus on the horizon.' It is from this denomination that the Greeks formed the appellation Harmachis, or Harmais. A stele in the Louvre—the historic importance of which M. Lauth of Munich was the first to discover—confirms these proofs that the Kings Khufu and Khafra, and King Tatefra, particularly venerated the goddess Isis, 'the queen of the pyramids,' and her great neighbour Hormakhu. As late as the epoch of the twenty-sixth dynasty, that is to say, thirty-five centuries after Chufu, they had still preserved the worship of these kings and divinities. A certain Psametik, son of Uzahor, son of Psametik,

son of Uzahor, son of Noferabra, is there mentioned as 'prophet of the god Tanen, prophet also of Isis, queen of the pyramids, prophet of King Khufu, prophet of Chafra, prophet of the divine Tatefra, prophet of Hormakhu.' This monumental tradition is all the more remarkable because the father of history, Herodotus, who, a century after this stele was written, visited Egypt, clearly assures us that the Egyptians would not even pronounce the names of the kings who constructed the great pyramids, because they had aroused such a feeling of hate and because the remembrance of them was so grievous. How, then, are we to explain the existence of priests who only one hundred years before presided at the worship of kings detested and apotheosised at the same time? Herodotus, we venture to maintain, has committed an error due to the loquacity and the bad tongue of his Egyptian dragomans.

We owe to the studies of M. de Rougé on the first six dynasties some precious notices concerning the family and worship of King Khafra. According to some texts found in the mortuary chapels which surround the pyramid, his wife bore the name of Merisanch. She was specially devoted to the worship of the god Thut (this is the Egyptian Hermes), to whom in the town of Hermopolis a much-venerated temple was dedicated, bearing besides honorific titles which attributed to her the functions of priestess of some other divinities.

MENKAURA OR MENCHERES.

After Khafra's passage home to the realm of the dead, where the king of the gods, Osiris, held the sceptre, Men-kau-ra, Mencheres, ascended the throne. This is the Mykerinos, Mencherinos, about whom the Greek authors relate that he erected the third pyramid as a memorial of honour. It is called in the texts by the name of hir, that is, 'the high one.' When Colonel Vyse found his way to the middle of the chamber of the dead and entered into the silent space of 'Eternity,' his eye discerned, as the last trace of Menkaura's place of burial, the wooden cover of the sarcophagus, and the stone coffin hewn out of one hard block, beautifully adorned outside in the style of a temple, according to the fashion of the masters of the old empire. The sarcophagus rests now at the bottom of the Mediterranean, the English vessel which was conveying it having been wrecked near Gibraltar. The cover, which was saved, thanks to the material of which it was composed, is now exhibited in the gallery of Egyptian antiquities in the British Museum. Its outside is adorned with a short text conceived in the following terms:

'O Osiris, who hast become king of Egypt, Menkaura living eternally, child of Olympus, son of Urania, heir of Kronos, over thee may she stretch herself and cover thee, thy divine mother, Urania, in her name as mystery of heaven. May she grant that thou shouldest

be like God, free from all evils, King Menkaura, living eternally.'

This prayer is of very ancient origin, for there are examples of it found on the covers of sarcophagi belonging to the dynasties of the ancient empire. The sense of it is full of significance. Delivered from mortal matter, the soul of the defunct king passes through the immense space of heaven to unite itself with God, after having overcome the evil which opposed it during its life on its terrestrial journey.

According to classic traditions King Mencheres enjoyed a very good reputation among pharaonic ancestors. He is described as a man distinguished for his justice and kindness, as also for his piety in regard to all that concerned the worship of the gods. For this reason the Egyptians after his death accorded him the honours of a god, by establishing a special worship dedicated to his memory. I do not know if we ought to attribute a great importance to this worship. The Egyptians rendered him the same honour which the kings, his predecessors, enjoyed after their decease. For the monuments of the time of the building of the pyramids mention priests and prophets which were devoted to the service of Kheops, Chabryes, and other rulers, and who offered them sacrifices and attended to their service, after the 'lord of the world' had left the light and descended to the depth of his grave. As to the religious sentiments which we attribute to the Pharaoh Mencheres, it seems in fact that Mencheres Pius occupied himself during his life by a certain predilection with sacred literature. The book called Pir-

em-heru, the so-called 'departure from day,' recalls his memory particularly in gate 64. According to the words of the text the author finishes the gate with this remark: 'This gate was discovered in the town of Hermopolis, engraved on a block of alabaster, and painted in blue colour under the feet of this god. It was discovered at the epoch of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mencheres the defunct, by the prince his son, Hortotef, when he undertook a journey to inspect the temples of Egypt. He brought it as a wonderful thing to the king, after having recognised the contents full of mystery.'

SHEPSESKAF.

He was the successor of King Mencheres. We are well informed on the subject of the succession of this pharaoh by the inscriptions on a tomb which was discovered at Saqqarah, and which M. de Rougé has treated of for the first time in his work on the six first Egyptian dynasties. The personage for whom the tomb in question was constructed was called Patah-Shepses. He played a great part at the pharaonic court. King Mencheres had adopted him as his son, as appears from the following words: 'King Mencheres placed him among the royal children in the palace of the king in the interior of the harem.'

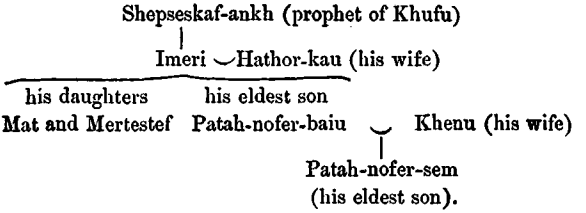
Soon after, as it appears, the good foster-father died, and King Shepseskaf ascended the throne, and placed the young page in his house, and at last gave him the hand of his own daughter as a sign of royal favour.

Then follow these words: 'His holiness gave him his eldest daughter, the princess Maat-kha,' to be his wife. His holiness preferred that she should be with him rather than with any other man.' Being the son-in-law of the pharaoh, it is quite natural to see him rise from step to step, and be distinguished by every kind of favour on the part of the king. The following are some phrases which relate to his promotion:—

'He was esteemed by the king more than any other servant. He became private secretary in everything that Pharaoh was pleased to do. He charmed the heart of his master. His holiness accorded to him to touch his knees, and dispensed with his kissing the ground.' We see from this remark that according to the pharaonic ceremonial persons admitted to the presence of the king were obliged to prostrate themselves in the dust, and kiss the ground which was trodden by the proud feet of their master. Other phrases make mention of offices which this personage held. As once Joseph, he filled 'the office of chief steward of the house of provisions, chief of all the works of the mines, prophet of the god Sokar, and chief of the temple of this god.' His highest dignity is contained in the title of 'chief of the priesthood of the god Patah, in the temple town of Memphis.'

Except in a certain number of tombs, the name of the King Shepseskaf is very rare upon the monuments. Among the persons who lived during his reign, and whose names are composed with that of the pharaoh, we must mention a prophet of King Cheops, called

Shepseskaf-ankh, that is, 'Shepseskaf's life.' His family is as follows:—



It is to different members of the family that the best known mortuary chapels in the necropolis of Memphis belong.

The pyramid which this pharaoh constructed for himself bears the monumental name Qebeh, 'the cool.'

THE KINGS OF THE FIFTH DYNASTY.

According to the royal list of Manetho, King Oosercheres must be placed at the head of the fifth dynasty. It is he whom the table of Abydos acquaints us with under the name of Ooskaf. There is little to say about his reign and about the history of his epoch. In the inscriptions of several tombs and on some steles of the fifth dynasty and even of later times, he appears among the pharaohs for whom the priests preserved a religious remembrance and instituted a divine worship. His pyramid was distinguished by the name of Ab-setu, which signifies literally 'the purest of the places.' We know nothing as to its identity with one of the pyramids still existing in our day.

It is not thus with the pyramid of King Sahura,

the successor of Ooskaf. The name of this king, traced in red, has been discovered on the blocks of a pyramid to the north of the village of Abousir, which in ancient times bore the name of Kha-ba, 'rising of the souls.' The titles and the names of the Pharaoh Sahura are seen on the rocks of Wady-Magharah, 'the valley of the caverns,' where in a picture the king is represented as the vanquisher of his enemies. The text which accompanies the scenes gives him the epithet of 'the god who conquers all nations, and strikes all countries.' One inscription designates him as 'God, who strikes all nations, and reaches all countries with his arm.' The pious remembrance of him continued long after he lay beneath his pyramid, even to the epoch of the lower empire. As late as the time of the Ptolemies there existed a sanctuary in old Memphis, dedicated to his religious service, and the priests of which are found mentioned on several mortuary monuments. Perhaps also the town called Pa-Sahura, 'town of Sahura,' quite near to Esneh, is so called in remembrance of this king, as M. de Rougé with reason supposes.

The successor of this king, according to the table of Saqqarah, is called Nofer-ar-ka-ra. He is, without doubt, the Nephercheres of the Manethonian list. The pyramid which he caused to be constructed is called Ba, that is, 'the soul.' There are several tombs of this epoch which mention this king, particularly that of a royal relation of the name of Urchuru, 'the royal grandson.' It was M. de Rougé who, in his work on the first six dynasties, called the attention of the learned to this personage, who was specially devoted to

literary occupations. Hence he is called 'royal scribe of the palace, doctor, chief of writing, who serves as a light to all the writings in the house of Pharaoh.' He was, moreover, called 'master in the writings for the petitions of men, he who serves as a light for all the writing which relates to the administration, chief of the house of provisions;' and, besides these titles, 'general of the infantry which is composed of young men.' Another officer of this epoch, called Pehenuka, had civil charges, among which we remark that of 'chief of the treasure, offerings, and provisions,' then 'chief of all the works of the king, chief of the writings of the king, and privy councillor of all the words pronounced by the king.' He was, without doubt, a sort of Secretary of State, who was employed in the reign of the above-named pharaoh.

Among the successors of this king we will mention him whom the monuments call Ranuser. He is the thirtieth of the table of Abydos, and the same who, in the list of kings according to Manetho, is transcribed by the name of Rathoores. This is the first pharaoh, as far as the monuments inform us, who added to his name of honour in his royal cartouche a second cartouche with his own name, the short and simple An.

King Ranuser followed the customs of his ancestors, in constructing a tomb, in the form of a pyramid, known under the denomination of Men-setu, a word which signifies 'the most firm place.' There has been found in the middle pyramid of Abousir the name o the king, traced in red, on one of its blocks. There is therefore little doubt about the person of this pharaoh,

whose mummy was formerly placed in the mortuary chamber of this pyramid. His memory was also preserved in other places. We will, before all, mention the presence of his name and titles on the rocks at Wady-Magharah, where a picture represents him as conqueror of the inhabitants of the peninsula of Sinai.

It is to M. de Rougé that science is indebted for precious remarks on a number of personages who lived at this epoch, and who were entrusted with high functions at the pharaonic court. The most interesting monument which has preserved the memory of an illustrious Egyptian of this time is, without doubt, the vast tomb of Ti, in the necropolis of Saqqarah. It is the tomb situated towards the north of the Serapeum, which travellers in our day never fail to visit, in order to admire the almost infinite number of pictures, representing scenes from ancient life. If we believe the texts which cover on all sides the walls of the tomb, the personage in question was invested with a number of honours, which make us recognise in him the first functionary of the court. Thus he was secretary of his lord in all his residences, secretary to proclaim the edicts of the king, chief of all the works of the king, chief of the royal writings. I pass in silence the long series of titles which relate to his honours as priest to different divinities. M. de Rougé has made a very curious observation, namely, that in the tomb of this dignitary we find neither the name of his father nor anything which indicates an illustrious parentage. If our Ti was really a parvenu, his alliance with a

princess of the blood royal makes us think that it was for great services rendered to the State that he was honoured with the hand of a daughter of the pharaoh. His wife was called Nofer-hotep; in very flattering terms she is described by titles which show her love and friendship for her beloved husband.

The three last pharaohs of this fifth dynasty had been already well known and classed before the discovery of the table of Abydos. The first among them is called Men-kau-hor; he is the Mencheres of the lists. The pyramid which he raised bears the name of Nuter-setu, which means 'the most holy place.' At the time of the discovery of the Serapeum there was found on a wall of the tomb of the Apis bulls a large block carried away from the temple of that pyramid, adorned with a bas-relief, in which we could recognise the portrait of the king, accompanied by his name and titles. It is possible that one of the pyramids of Saqqarah, near the Serapeum, contained his tomb. We must not forget to remark that the rocks at Wady-Magharah have preserved the memory of this king, to whom several hieroglyphic legends, sculptured on the mountain, have reference.

According to the monuments, his successor bore two names. The first, the most frequent, is Tat-ka-ra, and the second Assa. He has also left texts at Wady-Magharah, which tell us of works executed during his reign in the mines of this mountain. His pyramid is called nofer, that is, 'the beautiful;' unfortunately we have no means of fixing its position. A series of tombs at Saqqarah and at Gizeh have preserved to us

the memory of several personages who filled high functions at the court of this king. As the titles do not much differ from those we have given before, we will pass them now in silence. We must, however, make the remark that the Egyptians called Snoferu-nofer, Rakapu, and Khu-hotep appear to be priests already anciently attached to the worship of the king. In the tombs of Saqqarah, not less than in those of Gizeh, appear other noblemen, who in their time lived at the court of Assa, and were clothed with various offices.

A very precious recollection of King Assa has been preserved in a literary work composed by his son Prince Patah-hotep. Let us say a word on this papyrus, which is probably the most ancient manuscript in the world, and which is better known under the name of the Prisse-papyrus. It was bought by a Frenchman of this name at Thebes, and given to the national library at Paris. The greater part of this document contains a treatise by the son of Assa, and relates to the virtues necessary for man, and to the best manner of arranging his life and making his way in the world. The general title is conceived in these words: 'This is the teaching of the governor Patah-hotep under the majesty of King Assa; long may he live.' At the time when he composed his book, he must have been very old, since he describes the decrepitude of his old age in very significant terms. 'The eyes,' he says, 'are very diminutive, and the ears stopped up; power is constantly diminished, the mouth is silent and does not speak, the memory is closed and does not remember the past.

The bones are not in a state to render service; that which was good is become bad. Even the taste is gone. Old age makes a man miserable in every way. The nose is stopped, and does not breathe.' It was thus that the prince begins the question which forms the subject of his book, which was to give to youth precepts which were justified by the practice of his long life, and frequently given in a humorous vein.

It is extremely interesting to follow the simple words which in an antique style represent the thoughts of the old man, and which touch almost all the conditions of human life. One of the most beautiful specimens is without doubt the following piece. He characterises admirably the spirit of humanity which breathes through these precepts of a very high moral tendency. 'If thou art become great, after thou hast been humble, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, being because of that the first in thy town; if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord, let not thy heart become proud because of thy riches, for it is God who is the author of them for thee. Despise not another who is as thou wast; be towards him as towards thy equal.'

Although the tombs of this ancient epoch reveal to us frequently traits extremely favourable to our ideas of humanity, we cannot compare what they tell us with the naïve and simple language of the precepts of Prince Patah-hotep. It is neither the priest nor the prince who addresses the youth of his day, it is simply the man who teaches them. Nor is he a morose philosopher. Is there anything truer, and at the same time more

persuasive, than his exhortation, 'Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest; has any one come out of the coffin after having once entered it?'

The last king of the fifth dynasty bears the name of Unas (Onnos according to the Greeks). Although we are not very well acquainted with his history, we nevertheless know the name of his pyramid, which was called Nofer-setu, 'the most beautiful place,' or 'the best place.' It is no other than that immense mortuary construction in the form of a great truncated pyramid, which rises in the middle of the desert to the north of the pyramids of Dashoor, known to the Arabs under the name of Mastabat-el-Faraoun, that is to say, 'the seat of Pharaoh.' We assisted at its opening by M. Mariette-Bey, and we were able to convince ourselves that one of the stones at its entrance bore pretty legible traces of the letters which compose the name of the king Unas.

It is with this king that the fifth dynasty of the Manethonian list ends, in accordance with the historical canon of Turin, which after the name of Unas terminates the first section of the series of the pharaohs, by giving the total of the years of their reigns and the number of the kings which preceded. Although the figures are now destroyed, it nevertheless results from the inspection of the papyrus that all these kings followed one another without any principal division, and in a successive order, which began with the king Mena, and ended by King Unas. This observation is of great importance for a classification of these kings of the

Egyptian canon, because it proves to us that they formed one entire group, probably belonging to the same family. These were, then, those famous kings of Memphis, the most ancient sovereigns in the history of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE SIXTH TO THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

M. DE ROUGÉ has well remarked that with the end of the fifth dynasty, in the necropolis of Gizeh as well as that of Saqqarah, the royal names of the ancient empire commence to disappear. It is no more Memphis and its neighbourhood alone, but it is in an especial manner Middle Egypt, which from the present time reveals to us recollections of the kings whom the monuments oblige us to regard as the successors of the pharaohs of the first dynasties.

The papyrus of Turin entirely favours this supposition. In spite of the miserable state of this precious historical document, the fragment which relates to the end of the fifth dynasty has been preserved. It is evident by the new section which commences that King Unas finished the series of the kings of Memphis, and that a new royal house continued the succession of the kings of the ancient empire. It is the second epoch of this empire which now presents itself for our study.

The first pharaoh of the sixth dynasty is he whom the monuments designate by the name of Teta. The tables of Abydos and of Saqqarah agree as to this suc-

cession, and the name of Othoes given by Manetho to the first pharaoh of the same dynasty is not so far removed from the Egyptian form as to permit doubt as to their identity. Besides, the succession of Teta after King Unas is very clearly indicated by the texts of a tomb at Saqqarah. The proprietor of a mortuary chapel of the name of Patah-shepes informs us of the different titles with which he was honoured in his lifetime; and we discover among them the priesthood of the pyramid of King Unas, by the side of the priesthood of the pyramid of Teta, who here bears, for the first time on the monuments, the title 'son of the sun.' The pyramid of Teta was called Tat-setu, 'the most lasting of places,' surely not without allusion to the king's own name.

It has been supposed that the name of Uskara, which the table of Abydos places after that of Teta, belongs as an official title to a King Ati, who at the same time built a pyramid, called in the writings Bai-u 'the pyramid of the souls.' This pharaoh has also been regarded as the real founder of the sixth dynasty, who reigned, perhaps, in Middle Egypt simultaneously with Teta, the last descendant of the kings of Memphis. This is very probable, but it has yet to be proved.

What is certain is that the high functionary Una, of whom we will speak later, passed from King Ati (residing at Memphis) to his successor, who bears the official name of Meri-ra Pepi.

Pepi's name shines brightly in the darkness of the history of those old kings. The rocks of Wady-Magharah, which contain so many recollections of the ancient

pharaohs of the race of Memphis, have also preserved the memory of Pepi. A large bas-relief which is there carved in the rocks relates to an inspection of mines carried out in the eighteenth year of his reign, by an overseer called Abton. In the pictures the king appears as the conqueror of his enemies, that is to say, of the foreign peoples who in his time dwelt in the Valley of Caverns. One of the blocks which has been discovered in the rich and massive ruins of the once celebrated city of Tanis is adorned with the names and titles of King Pepi. This is the most ancient monument which has been found in this town, the antiquity of which reaches back, according to this proof, as far as the epoch of the old empire. In the temple of Denderah is also found a mention of Pepi, who after King Khufu-Kheops had executed works at this sanctuary of the goddess Hathor. The valleys of Hammamat, the dark rocks near Assooan, and walls in the quarries of El-kab, are richly covered with inscriptions, which prove to us that under the reign of this Pharaoh Pepi, a powerful ruler in the land, a number of public works were executed in hard stone to command the admiration of posterity.

When Pepi, the lord of the double land, ruled over the Egyptian people, there lived a faithful servant of his lord, the noble Una, who when young began his career under Teta, at the court of the pharaohs, and received for his good service the approbation of the king. When Teta disappeared in the gloomy realm of Osiris, Pepi noticed the young man, placed him in the most confidential posts in the king's house, and honoured him with the richest marks of favour, since 'he was dearer

to the heart of the king than all the dear nobles and all the other servants in the land.'

Among many other duties, he received the order to bring a sarcophagus of limestone from the caverns of Troja, opposite to the old capital Memphis. Warriors and sailors accompanied him for the transport of the sarcophagus. The monolith arrived, loaded on one of the great barks of the king's residence. It was accompanied by its cover, and by many other hewn stones, destined to serve for the construction of the pyramid of King Pepi. 'Never,' says the text, 'was such a thing done by any servant; it was the most perfect pleasure for the heart of his majesty, and the greatest satisfaction which it was possible to procure for him.' The pharaoh also did not forget nobly to recompense his servant with titles and honours, even to his entrance into the women's house, where a secret charge was confided to him. If up to this time the services which Una rendered the king were of a pacific nature, the continuation of the text tells us of actions and deeds of this functionary during the wars undertaken by the king against the tribes of the Amu and the Hirusha, or the people living on the sands of the desert to the east of Lower Egypt. In order to prepare for this war his majesty assembled an army reckoned by tens of thousands, chosen among the population, beginning with the town of Elephantina in the south, and ending with the marshes of Lower Egypt. But it seems that the Egyptian army was not considered numerous enough to carry on the war, and we see the country of the negroes also called on for a contingent. On this occasion

we learn the names of several countries inhabited by the negroes, who already at this epoch were under the dominion of the Egyptian empire.

These are the countries of Artet, Zam, Amam, Uauat, Kerau, and Takam. Their contingents were ruled by captains, whom the pharaoh placed over them, to be instructed in the proper way of fighting. And now the army was ready, and fell upon the land of the Hirusha. 'And the warriors came and annihilated the land of the Hirusha, and returned fortunately home; and they took possession of the land of the Hirusha and returned fortunately home; and they destroyed the fortresses, and returned fortunately home. And they cut down the fig trees and the vines, and returned fortunately home. And they set fire to the dwellings of the enemy, and returned fortunately home. And they killed their chief men by tens of thousands, and returned fortunately home. And the warriors brought a great number of prisoners alive with them, and on that account were highly thought of by the king. And the king sent out Una five times to fight in the land of the Hirusha, and to check the rebellion by his warriors. He acted so that each time the king was pleased with him.'

After these expeditions a new war was carried on by the king against a country called Terehbah (?), 'to the north of the Hirusha.' This time the army started in vessels, reached the extreme points of this region, and gained a complete victory over the enemy. It is difficult precisely to point out the country which was the theatre of this new war. As vessels are mentioned, it

is natural to suppose that it was some part of Syria situated to the north of the desert of Arabia.[1]

Before concluding the very interesting recital which this text furnishes, and which tells us of the brilliant termination of the career of Una, under a successor of Pepi, we will in a few words sum up what remains to be said on the history of Pepi.

Like his predecessors, during his lifetime he had constructed a pyramid, where his mortal remains were to be hidden, and for which Una had brought the necessary material. The pyramid bore the same name as the town of Memphis, that is, Men-nofer, 'the good station,' or 'the good entrance.' He was also the founder of a town called after his name, 'town of Pepi,' and situated in Middle Egypt.

We know the names of several great personages who lived under Pepi, and were invested with high dignities. Their tombs are found at Saqqarah, Bersheh, Zauwit-el-Meitin, Sheikh Said, Abydos, and other places. There is among their number a certain Meri-ra-anch, who is designated on his tomb as 'governor of Troja.' We may hazard the supposition that this employé was charged with the works in the quarries of Mokattam, which is all the

[1] This account of the campaign of Una, at the command of King Pepi, is borrowed from a monument found in the grave of Una, in the cemetery of Memphis, and now in the collection of Boulak. M. de Rougé first called attention to the important historical meaning of this stone. The last-mentioned expedition in boats seems hardly to have been on the sea. Our opinion is that the country in question is that part of Lower Egypt situated around Lake Menzaleh, and which was then occupied by the ancestors of the Bedouins of the Isthmus of Suez.

more probable because he besides bears the title of 'the chief of the public works of the king.' Another functionary, Meri-ra Meri-patah-ankh, was also chief of the public works under Pepi. A third person, called Pepi-nakht, whose tomb is at Abydos, was governor of 'the town of the Pyramid.' By this evidently is understood the sanctuary before the king's grave, in which pure men offered sacrifices to the dead pharaoh, burnt incense before his picture, and performed all other religious service according to the regulations and custom.

The same office, guardian, prophet, and priest of the pyramid of King Pepi, was filled by Pepi-na, who after his master's death enjoyed similar offices at the pyramid of Mer-en-ra, the son and successor of Pepi.

In the reign of Pepi mention is made for the first time on the monuments of his day of a festival closely connected with the chronology of Egypt, called Hib-set, 'the festival of the tail,' in memory of the end and the beginning of a new period of years. In the eighteenth year of his government took place the renewal of Hib-set, or the first section of 'the feast of the tail,' that is 'the cycle of 30 years.' A learned German, Mr. Gensler, who has specially occupied himself with enquiries and learning relating to the course of the stars in connection with the information of the monuments, has latterly put forth the opinion that the period of 30 years served to regulate, according to a fixed law of numbers, the coincident points of the solar and lunar calendar by means of eleven synodic months intercalated in the years 0, 4, 7, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23, 26, 30 (=0) of the period. The

real nature of this circle of 30 years seems to us contained in the previously-mentioned period of years which as we said, were connected with the sun and moon. The Greek translator of the holy term Hib-set, in the Egyptian part of the celebrated Rosetta Stone, renders this expression by the term 'period of 30 years.' We shall later on furnish the material for proving that single portions of this circle are frequently found on the monuments.

King Pepi, who, according to the Greek accounts, sat for 100 years on the throne of his fathers, married a lady who was not of the blood royal. Her father was called Khua, and her mother Nekebet. After her coronation as queen, she adopted the name of Meri-ra-ankh-nes. Her tomb, the vast ruins of which were discovered at Abydos, has furnished us important information about the descendants of this high personage. She had two sons, the eldest called Mer-en-ra, and his brother, called Nofer-ka-ra. It was the eldest who succeeded his father Pepi.

The great text of the tomb of Una reveals to us a considerable part of the history of his time, and further enlightens the darkness which hangs over the history of Mer-en-ra. After the death of Pepi, Una had the honour of obtaining the high dignity of 'governor of Upper Egypt.' The limit of his government towards the south was bounded by the town of Elephantina, and to the north reached to the nome of Letopolis in the lower country. It seems that Una possessed the secret of quickly acquiring the favour of all men, including his masters. Thus the son of Pepi charged him with

all the works and the entire administration of the region of Upper Egypt. Una himself acknowledges this rare distinction accorded to an Egyptian by saying that 'never such a thing was done before in this country of Upper Egypt.'

According to ancient custom, in the first years of his reign, King Mer-en-ra was greatly preoccupied with the arrangements for his burial. It was again Una who was charged with all works for the preparation of the sepulchre, and was ordered to bring from the southernmost boundary of Egypt the hardest stone. 'His majesty,' so speaks Una himself, 'sent me to the country of Abhat,[1] to bring back a sarcophagus with its cover, with a small pyramid and a statue of the king Mer-en-ra, whose pyramid is called Kha-nofer. His holiness sent me to Elephantina to bring back a holy shrine and its stand of hard granite, and the door-jambs and head of the same granite, and the doors, and pillars, and cornices, and also to bring back the granite jambs and thresholds for the temple opposite to the pyramid Kha-nofer, of King Mer-en-ra. The number of vessels destined for the transport of all these stones consisted of six broad ships, three tow-boats, three rafts, and one vessel of war.' It seems that these vessels were constructed in the south of Upper Egypt, for the text tells us that 'never had it happened that the inhabitants of Abhat, nor of Elephantina, had constructed a vessel

[1] This country, which will be again mentioned in the inscriptions, can hardly be sought anywhere else than in the immediate neighbourhood of the southern frontier of Egypt We shall further on, in treating of the reign of the third Amenhotep, have the opportunity of returning to the subject of this country and its inhabitants.

of war in the time of the old kings, who reigned before.'

After having executed the orders of the king, a new mission awaited the Governor Una, who this time was charged to cut blocks of alabaster and bring them to his lord. 'His holiness,' he thus relates, 'sent me to the country of Ha-nub, the gold town,[1] to fetch a large table of alabaster. I caused this table to be extracted for him in 17 days.' For the building of the royal pyramid, which bore the name Kha-nofer,[2] 'the good rising,' 'they had to extract enormous blocks of hard stone from the quarries behind Assooan. They were obliged to construct vessels expressly for the transport of the enormous masses which they had dug out of the quarries. This was new toil and trouble to the poor people. Great rafts were made, 60 cubits long and 30 in breadth.[3] As there was not water enough at this time, the season of the low waters having arrived, they were obliged to build smaller vessels, using wood that was found in the forests of the Negroes.' Una reports thereon literally as follows:—'His holiness sent me to cut down four forests in the South, in order to construct three large

[1] This region designates the quarries of oriental alabaster, in the neighbourhood of the town of Sioot, on the right bank of the Nile. A place quite close to these quarries is at the present day called Benoob, 'the gold town,' with the surname El-hammâm.

[2] It is worthy of notice that the designation of this pyramid is found later as the name of a town in the neighbourhood of Memphis, or perhaps as the name of Memphis itself.

[3] As the old Egyptian ell = 0·525 mètres in length, the rafts were 31·5 mètres long, 15·75 mètres broad, and contained a superficies of 496 mètres.

vessels and four vessels for towing acacia wood in the country Wawa-at. And behold the officials of the countries of Araret, Aam, and Mata caused the wood to be cut down for this purpose. I did all this in the space of a year. As soon as the water rose I loaded the rafts with immense pieces of granite for the pyramid Kha-nofer of the King Mer-en-ra.'

This report of Una is our only source of information for the lives of Teta, Pepi, and Mer-en-ra. In order to fill up the numerous lacunæ of the fragment we must again hunt among the dust and ruins of days long gone by.

After his brother's death Nofer-ka-ra followed him on the throne. His pyramid's name is also known to us. It was called Menankh, that is to say, 'the inn of life.' His name and his titles are preserved on the rocks of Wady-Magharah, where there is an inscription dated in the second year of his reign. The tombs of Middle Egypt make us acquainted with a number of noble personages who lived under his government, and were charged with various important functions. We will mention a certain Beba, because of his peculiar position of governor of the town of Pepi. This is the only occasion when we find on an Egyptian monument the mention of this town, which was built by Pepi, and was probably the residence of the kings of his family. It seems that later its name either totally disappeared or was changed. Egyptian history after Nofer-ka-ra is involved in deep darkness, which conceals even the slightest vestiges of the existence of kings whose mere names have

been preserved to us on the walls of Abydos and Saqqarah, names without deeds, empty sounds, which are no better to us than the inscriptions on the tombs of ordinary insignificant men. Unless we are greatly mistaken, we may suppose that the State was divided into small kingdoms, and was afflicted with civil wars and royal murders, and that among its haks or governors there was no saviour who with bold arm struck down the rebellious, seized with firm hand the fallen reins of a reunited monarchy, and had the intelligence to govern it.

The creaking vessel of the State continually approached nearer to destruction, until it again found a powerful master, who after severe storms once more brought it back into the safe harbour of quiet and order. Such a one appears to have been King Ra-neb-taui Mentu-hotep, according to the monuments. He was an offshoot of the eleventh dynasty, and a vigorous child of his unruly times.

A sure proof of the difficult times which the empire for many years had to pass through—and this is borne out by the complete silence of the monuments which generally tell us so much—is shown in the tradition which is connected with the fabulous appearance of the beautiful queen Nitocris. The remains which have been preserved of the much-injured old Book of the Kings at Turin bear witness to the existence of this lady, celebrated by the father of history, and she there takes her place as Nit-aker, 'the perfect Nit,' in the list of the pharaohs of the sixth dynasty before Nofer-ka, Nefrus, and Ra-ab.

Manetho also mentions a Queen Nitocris at the end of this dynasty, who reigned twelve years, 'the noblest and most beautiful woman of her time, fair in colour (ξανθή), the builder of the third pyramid.'

According to the narration of Herodotus, the brother of Nitocris was killed by his political adversaries, and the kingdom was given over to her. The beautiful Nitocris, with rosy cheeks, to avenge the death of her brother, constructed a vast underground building. Under pretext of its inauguration, she there assembled the principal authors of the murder. During the repast which she offered them, the queen made the waters of the river enter by a secret canal, so that they were all drowned. After that she retired into a chamber filled with ashes, and killed herself to avoid the vengeance which awaited her.

It is difficult to recognise the historical foundation of this tradition, but it proves what we meant to say, that at the time of Queen Nitocris there was murder and violence prevailing in the kingdom—kept up by the deadly rivalry of those who were competitors for the throne.

According to Manetho, the same queen was the builder of the third pyramid, which monumental researches attribute to the Pharaoh Menkara the pious, 1,000 years before Nitocris. According to the investigations of the engineer, M. Perring, it certainly appears that the third pyramid has been reconstructed and increased.

'Queen Nitocris, in taking possession of the pyramid of Menkara, left the sarcophagus of the king in a

lower chamber and placed her own in the hall before it, if one may judge from the fragments of blue basalt which were found there. She doubled the dimensions of the monument, and gave it that rich covering of well-polished granite, which was supposed later, according to the Greek storytellers, to have absorbed the immense sums which the courtesan Rhodopis collected from the ruin of her friends.'[1]

Without occupying ourselves with the fruitless labour of endeavouring to reconstruct the dynasties of Manetho, from the seventh to the eleventh, we will have recourse to the monumental succession which is most completely represented in the table of Abydos. This enumerates twenty kings, who necessarily correspond with the anonymous kings who once composed five complete dynasties, according to the epitome of the work of Manetho. The number of these kings was double according to the Turin Book of Kings, if the computation, according to the fragments which have been preserved, be correct. According to the papyrus, the dynasty which preceded the twelfth contained six kings. Again before these there appeared a set of seventeen or eighteen kings. From Nitocris downwards to the first of these eighteen kings there was room on the papyrus for the names of about ten kings. We have, therefore, a total of 38 or at most 40 kings, to make up the five dynasties mentioned by Manetho. But, however this may be, we are satisfied with the number of 20 as on the wall of the temple of Abydos, who in all

[1] According to De Rougé, who follows Bunsen and Lepsius.

probability belonged to the true race of old kings, of whom the following are the names:—

39th king, Mer-en-ra, with the additional name Zaf-em-saf.
40th „ Nuter-ka-ra.
41st „ Men-ka-ra.
42nd „ Nofer-ka-ra.
43rd „ Nofer-ka-ra, surnamed Nebi.
44th „ Tat-ka-ra, „ Shemæ.
45th „ Nofer-ka-ra „ Khentu.
46th „ Men-en-hor.
47th „ Senofer-ka.
48th „ Ra-n-ka.
49th „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Terel.
50th „ Nofer-ka-hor.
51st „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Pepi-seneb.
52nd „ Nofer-ka-ra, „ Annu.
53rd „ . . . kau-ra.
54th „ Nofer-kau-ra.
55th „ Nofer-kau-hor.
56th „ Nofer-ar-ka-ra.
57th „ Neb-kher-ra (Mentu-hotep).
58th „ S-ankh-ka-ra.

The reader will perceive that several of these pharaohs bear a double name, as, for example, the 39th, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 49th, 51st, and the 52nd, the second of which belonged to the king before he ascended the throne.

We must stop at the 57th king of the series, who is called Neb-kher-ra. His other name was Mentu-hotep, like some of his ancestors. His name on the monuments is Ra-neb-taui. Here the long silence of the stones begins to cease, and the mouth of the monuments to sing, and tell us tales of the olden time.

The race of kings, among which the commanding figure of King Mentu-hotep rose, for the welfare of the reunited kingdom, was of Theban origin. The feeble ancestors of this race bore alternately the names of Nentef (or Anentef) and Mentu-hotep. They had fixed their royal seat in the future metropolis of Thebes, and their tombs (plain, simple pyramids built of brickwork) were placed at the foot of the western mountain of the Theban necropolis. Here a few ruins of ancient origin indicate the names of the kings. Here it was where, more than twenty years ago, Arabs seeking for treasure brought to light two very simple coffins of these pharaohs, not knowing what a treasure they had found. In that part of the necropolis which by the inhabitants is now called Assaseef, these coffins were discovered lightly hidden under loose heaps of stones and sand. The cover was richly gilt, and the band of hieroglyphics which occupied the middle of it contained the name of Anentef. During my stay in Egypt in 1854, when I first visited the banks of the Nile, I had the good luck to discover, in the lumber-room of the residence of the Greek consul, the coffin of a second Anentef, which was distinguished by the surname of 'the Great.' This last coffin is now in the collection of the Louvre, a very precious relic of the ancient kingdom of the pharaohs. Of that Mentu-hotep, who bore the royal name Ra-neb-taui (son of the master of the country), mention is made. On the black rocks of the island of Konosso, quite close to Philæ, a bas-relief chiselled in the hard stone exhibits this pharaoh as the conqueror of thirteen foreign nations, and as the de-

voted servant of the ancient creator, Khem, the celebrated god of Coptos.

In those times a place of this name (it was called Qobt in the mouth of the Egyptians) was very celebrated. Placed on the right bank of the Nile, at about the spot where the valley of Hammamat opens towards the south, and here offers to the traveller, after a painful journey of eight days over the parched soil, a sight of the green fields and the Nile stream, this town with its haven served as a staple for many precious wares. In the valley of Hammamat, a mountainous district, with many devious roads, there lay hidden a valuable stone both for building and working, which the hand of the workman well knew how to fashion. Here the much-toiling people descended to the mines to draw out the gold and silver ore.

Here also the merchant passed on his journey, richly laden with treasures and much-sought-for wares, from the coast lands of the Red Sea towards the south, returning home to Egypt's green plains after a long pilgrimage. The wanderer who passed through the valley did not fail to say his prayers to 'the lord protector of the mountain,' the god Khem of Coptos, or on the walls of the rocks, 'for everlasting,' to carve out in tablet and holy characters his reverence for the god. Almost numberless is the mass of dedicatory inscriptions, due to pious custom and ancient manners, and of the greatest use to us moderns, because they confirm to us what we have above stated.

Mentu-hotep also, whom we mentioned above, appears immortalised on the wall of the valley of rocks,

as well as his mother Ama. He had, so the inscription says, sunk a deep well, 10 ells in breadth, in the dry, bare desert, in order to provide fresh water for pilgrims with their beasts of burden, and the men whom the behest of the king ordered to cut stone in this hot valley. Another inscription of the same valley dating from the 15th of Paophi, in the second year of the reign of our Mentu-hotep, is addressed 'to the god Khem-Pan, the master of the tribes which inhabit this valley,' and to other divinities. The inscription continues by making a report how wonderfully they had succeeded in transporting some gigantic stones to the Nile, which were destined to serve for the housing of the royal corpse. A high functionary, chief of all such works for the king, by name Amenemhat, received the order to transport the sarcophagus and its cover to the eternal resting-place of his lord. One can imagine the size of this immense stone, the dimensions of which are mentioned in the text, the length being eight, the breadth four, and the height two cubits. After having made rich offerings to the divinities, it required 3,000 men to move the monolith from its place, and to roll it down the valley towards the Nile.

We have less information about the second Mentu-hotep, whose pyramid bore the name of Khu-setu, 'the most shining of places.' A gravestone found in the cemetery of Abydos commemorates a priest attached to this funeral monument, who offered the gifts for the dead to the deceased king at this pyramid. Sankh-ka-ra finishes this list of kings, the fifty-eighth

in the long succession of Abydos. The rocky valley of Hammamat commemorates him in an inscription of the highest value. As we have said, a road led from Coptos, in the midst of deserts, without water, to the coast of the Red Sea, much frequented by merchants, who, for the sake of gain, hazarded their lives, and in painful wanderings over lonely ways trusted themselves to frail barks to steer to the furthest coasts of the South, to bring from the land of Punt precious wares, and especially costly rich-smelling spices and incense, for their homes and the temples of the gods.

Under the name of Punt, the old inhabitants of Kemi meant a distant land, washed by the great ocean, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, balsam, precious metals, and costly stones; rich also in beasts, as cameleopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long-tailed monkeys.[1] Birds with strange plumage rocked themselves on the branches of wonderful trees, especially the incense tree and the cocoa palm. Such was the Ophir of the Egyptians, without doubt the present coast of the Somauli land in sight of Arabia, but separated from it by the sea.

According to an old obscure tradition, the land of Punt was the original seat of the gods. From Punt the holy ones had travelled to the Nile valley, at their head Amon, Horus, Hathor. The passage of the gods sanctified the coast lands, which the shores of the Red Sea

[1] In old Egyptian, Kaf or Kafi, a remarkable word, as it is clearly recognised again in the Hebrew Kof, Sanscrit Kapi, Greek Kepos, Kebos, Latin Cepus.

washed as far as Punt, and whose name, 'the lands of the gods' (Ta-nuter), of itself disclosed a trace of the tradition. Amon was called Hak, i.e. 'King' of Punt; Hathor, in the same sense, 'Queen and ruler of Punt;' while Hor was honoured as 'the holy morning star which rose to the west of the land of Punt.' Peculiar to that land is the idol Bes, the oldest form of the godhead in the land of Punt, which wandered far, and gained a footing not only in Egypt, but in Arabia and in other lands of Asia, as far as the islands of the Greeks. The misshapen Bes, with apish countenance, is no other than the beneficent Dionysos, who as a pilgrim through the world, dispensed with hand rich in blessings, mild manners, peace and jollity to the nations.

Under Sankh-ka-ra took place the first journey to Ophir and Punt. According to the words of the inscription, everything was wisely provided which the journey required when Pharaoh entrusted the expedition to the noble Hannu, who relates to us as follows: 'I was sent,' says he, 'to conduct ships to the country of Punt, to bring back odoriferous gums, collected by the princes of the red land under the influence of the fear which he inspires among all nations. Behold, I left Coptos.

'His Holiness ordered that the troops which were to accompany me should be those from the south of the Thebais.'

After a great break, in which, however, some words have remained sufficiently legible to enable us to recognise that the armed force was destined to protect the expedition against enemies, and that one officer

had with him royal officers, stonecutters, and other workmen, the text continues the recital in the following manner:—

'I left with an army of 3,000 men. I passed through '"the red hamlet," and through a cultivated country. 'I prepared the skins and the sticks to carry the vases 'of water, to the number of twenty. One of every two 'of all my men every day carried a load [*lacuna*], the 'other of the two placed the load on him; and I had a 'reservoir dug of twelve perches in a wood, and two 'reservoirs at a place called Atahet, one of a perch and 'twenty cubits, and the other of a perch and thirty 'cubits. I made another at Ateb, of ten cubits by ten 'every way, to contain water of a cubit in depth. Then 'I arrived at the port Seba (?), and I made transport ves-'sels to bring back all kinds of products. I made a great 'offering of oxen, cows, and goats. When I returned 'from Seba, I executed the order of his Majesty; I 'brought him back all kinds of products which I met 'with in the ports of the Holy Land. I came back by 'Uak and Rohan. I brought back precious stones for 'the statues of the temples. Never was a like thing 'done since there were kings; never was anything like 'this done by any royal relation sent to these places 'since the time (of the reign) of the Sun-god Ra. I 'acted thus for the king on account of the great friend-'ship he has for me.'

M. Chabas, to whom we owe the explanation of the contents of this important inscription, accompanied his translation by excellent remarks on the subject of the

road which was followed across the desert from Coptos to the Red Sea. We see clearly that the Egyptians, already in these distant times, had opened a road to transport the products of the land of Punt into Egypt. One personage has indicated in his itinerary the names of the five principal stations where the caravans halted to supply water to the men and beasts of burden—that is, to the asses, which were the only beasts of burden in those times. It was, in fact, the same road which, leading from Coptos towards the East, was followed afterwards by all the caravans which passed by the Red Sea up to the time of the Ptolemies and the Romans. It was the high road which, leading to the harbour of Leukos Limen (now Qosseir), on the Red Sea, brought the wonders of India and Arabia to Europe; it was the road of the merchants of all countries in the ancient world—the nations' bridge between Asia and Europe.

Although convinced by the latest discoveries, we no longer in 'Punt,' and in the name 'Holy Land,' which is so often repeated, recognise exclusively a description of the South and West coasts of what is properly called Arabia, yet there is nothing more probable than that already, in the reign of King Sankh-ka-ra, five-and-twenty centuries before the commencement of our era, the Egyptians possessed a knowledge of the coasts of Yemen and Hydramaut, which lay on the other side of the sea to Punt and the Holy Land, in sight of these incense-bearing countries. Here in these regions we ought to seek, as it appears to us, for those mysterious places which, in the fore ages of all history,

the wonder-loving Cushite races, like swarms of locusts, left, in passing from Arabia and across the sea, to set foot on the rich and blessed shores of Punt and the 'Holy Land,' and to continue their wanderings into the interior in western and northerly directions.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PHARAOHS OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

In the work of Manetho the first eleven dynasties of the Egyptian Empire formed the first part of his history of the ancient kings of Egypt who were said to have reigned 2,300 years. The second part of his work was occupied with the dynasties which followed, commencing with the twelfth down to the end of the nineteenth, and these kings were said to have reigned 2,120 years.

By using the materials which the monuments up to the present time have furnished to science, we have drawn out the following table of the kings who composed the twelfth dynasty (see p. 120).

Even a superficial examination of this table proves that the old Egyptians attributed to each Pharaoh the sum total of the duration of his reign, without taking into consideration the reductions that must be made for the simultaneous reigns of two princes, father and son, of which we possess several instances at the epoch of the first four kings. The figure, therefore, of 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days which the Canon of Turin gives as the duration of the reigns of the twelfth dynasty, must necessarily be diminished, since the double reigns are not taken into account.

The Twelfth Dynasty, according to the Monuments.

Succession	Duration of reign			Total duration of reign			According to Manetho	
	Yrs.	Mths.	Dys.	Yrs.	Mths.	Dys.		Yrs.
1. Amenemhat I. alone	20	0	0	30	0	0	1. Ammenemes	16
with Usurtasen I.	10	0	0					
2. Usurtasen I. alone.	32	0	0	45	0	0	2. Sesonchosis	46
with Amenemhat II.	3	0	0					
3. Amenemhat II. alone	29	0	0	38	0	0	3. Ammanemes	38
with Usurtasen II.	6	0	0					
4. Usurtasen II. .	13	0	0	19	0	0	4. Sesostris .	48
5. Usurtasen III. .	26	0	0	26	0	0	5. Lachares .	?
6. Amenemhat III. .	42	0	0	42	0	0	6. Ameres . .	8
7. Amenemhat IV. .	9	3	17	9	0	0	7. Amenemes .	8
8. Sebek-nofru-ra .	3	10	24	4	0	0	8. Skemiophris	4
				213	1	17	Total duration	168

The reader from this particular circumstance will be able to form some idea of the kind of difficulties with which science has continually to contend in order to present a correct picture of the succession and numbers of the old Egyptian reigns. The old custom by which the Pharaohs, towards the end of their reigns, called their sons to share their thrones with them, and by which these last, after their father's death, reckoned the years of their reign from the time when they began to share the throne with their fathers, without the inscriptions expressly mentioning this circumstance—now thousands of years after these events—places such difficulties and doubts in the way as to make one despair in putting together a chronological table of the old Egyptian Empire.

Manetho states the princes of this house to be of Theban origin. This is more than probable, since the progeny of Anentef and Mentu-hotep have left behind

them in this metropolis of the highest antiquity the most scarce and precious remains. The sanctuary of the great temple of Amon, at Karnac, whose ruins present to us walls, columns (the so-called Proto-Doric), and pictures covered with the names of the kings of this house, kept on increasing from this time of its foundation, till it became an imperial building, whose walls of stone reveal to us the history of the Theban kings. And as the bright sun shines out of dark night and suddenly illumines with its rays what previously lay in deep darkness, so the accession of the twelfth dynasty may be compared to a stream of light which shines over the forgotten world of the past, to call back into new life by its gleams more than forty centuries before our days. It is, however, only from the ruins of those times which lie scattered on the ground of the earliest period of the world, that we can catch the faint gleams of the aurora of all historical remembrances.

What lends a high worth to these ages is not only the greatness of the kings, founded on the wisdom of their domestic rule, and the glory of their victories in foreign countries. Art also, with all its striving after beauty and noble forms, was cherished by these rulers, and skilful masters, the true children of Mer-ti-sen, the great artist of King Mentu-hotep, produced an immense number of beautiful works and pictures. Their ancestors of earlier times had already understood how to work with unknown but incomparable tools the hard substance of the granite and similar stones, to polish the surface like a mirror, and to fit the gigantic masses together, not unfrequently with

iron clamps, as in the structure of the Great Pyramid. But although the hand of the studious artist had worked in hard stone, and fashioned after life what nature had already produced in flesh and bone, yet there was still wanting the last stamp of perfection — namely, beauty which moves us to admiration. Beginning with the race of the Theban kings of the twelfth dynasty, the harmonious form of beauty united with truth and nobleness meets the eye of the beholder as well in buildings as in statues.

AMENEMHAT I., WITH THE THRONE NAME SEHOTEP-AB-RA.

This is the name of the ruler who greets us on the threshold of this dynasty as the leader of his race. Unless we are deceived, he is a descendant of the prince of the same name who, under Neb-taui Mentu-hotep received the command to bring enormous stones from the valleys of Hammamat, and by doing so earned the praise of the king.[1] His elevation to the throne was no peaceable succession as heir, but a struggle for crown and sceptre by the young king against other claimants, a fight of danger to life and limb. In the instructions which the Pharaoh Amenemhat I. wrote for the benefit of his own son, he speaks of the misfortunes which consumed the land—'for Egypt was to be compared to a bull which had lost all memory of the past'—from internal wars and conspirators, who

[1] See p. 113.

sought in a cowardly manner to rob the king of life in the stillness of night.[1] After the fight was ended, the towns conquered, and order re-established, external wars had to be carried on. A memorial stone, which may be seen in London, bears witness that the sovereignty of the king was extended towards the South, beyond the bounds of the empire into the land of the negroes, since mention is made in the inscription of a steward of the mines, which yielded a gold-bearing stone, to the king of the Egyptians. His dominion in the South is confirmed by a memorial inscription, engraved on a block at the entrance of the valley of Girgaooi, on the road from Korusko which informs us of a victory of Amenemhat I. over the inhabitants of the land of Wawa-t.[2] Short and conclusive are the expressions:—'In the year nine-and-twenty of King Amenemhat, long may he live! he came here to beat the inhabitants of the land Wawa-t.'

Wawa-t could be reached by travelling Egyptians not only from the Nile, but by sea, since Korusko itself, situated in the country of the same name, helps us to ascertain the geography of that country. It is almost certain that Wawa-t is the same as the gold-bearing valley of Ollaki, which stretched northwards, from Korusko to the sea.

What the inscription on stone historically teaches us is also confirmed by the words of the papyrus and the works of those old days. They tell us of campaigns

[1] Compare Sallier, pap. ii.

[2] This hitherto unknown inscription was accidentally discovered on an excursion from Korusko by my travelling companion, Dr. Lüttge, in 1875, who afterwards accompanied me to the place.

and wars which the king carried on against foreign nations, as the inhabitants of Wawa-t, the Mazai, the Sati, the Hirusha, and other 'rabble' of strangers in the South and North and East and West. By the side of the military operations, which brought to king and country equal honour, the service of the gods lay near to the heart of the king. He dedicated to them a great number of temples. He was the founder of the temple of Amon in Thebes, where his own portrait in red stone of Assooan bore witness to his work. Thebes, and also Memphis, the holy place of Patah, the country of the Fayoum and other places of this great empire were richly adorned through the piety of the king with stone pictures and temples. And if the last stones of these works were to remain silent, the ancient quarries of the limestone-hill of Mokattam and the valleys of the much-used Wady Hammamat would tell the tale.

Although a Theban, Amenemhat nevertheless followed the ancient custom of the Memphites, and built himself as his 'eternal dwelling,' his own pyramid with the name of 'beautiful-high' (Ka-nofer). Also, for the repose of his body, the Pharaoh carefully provided a stone sarcophagus during his lifetime. The chief of the priests of the god Khem, Anentef, the son of Sebek-nekht, was sent to the mountain of Rohannu in the Wady Hammamat to cut the stone of the sarcophagus from the wall of rock, and to roll towards the valley the precious burden, so immensely great that 'never the like had been provided since the time of the god Ra.'

Amenemhat ruled over the whole land of Egypt 'from the Elephant-town even to the Athu, or lakes in the lowlands,' with might and power, and many an expression in the long-faded papyrus of ancient origin tells us that he was wise in thought and deed. Let us next consider the child-like, simple narrative of his contemporary, the Egyptian Sineh, who, from some unknown cause, left the court of his lord the king and took a road towards the north-east to leave the land of his fathers. He incurred in his flight many dangers from the guards of the roads and from foreign nations, so that the pilgrim, leading an unsettled wandering life in the Eastern provinces of the Empire, had much care and disquietude. There in the East the great 'wall' obstructed the free road. What the Egyptians call Anbu, i.e. 'wall,' was called in other languages by a term better known to us, Shur (Hebrew 'wall') or Gerrhon (Greek, i.e. enclosure, bounds), both designating the fortress at the entrance of the narrow way between the Egyptian Sea and the Lake Sirbonis, through which the high road led from the land of Kemi to the towns of the Ruten. Sineh escaped the watchmen at the 'wall,' and entered the barren, desolate wilderness. Provided with food and drink through the pity of the inhabitants of the district, the runaway reached the land of Edom, within the bounds of which the small kingdom of Tennu was situated. The king of the land, Amunensha, invited the Egyptian wanderer to his court, gave him his eldest daughter in marriage, and the fruitful district of Oa as his residence. Everything prospered in Sineh's hands; he collected riches, and was blessed

with many children. As David did Goliath, so the bold Egyptian killed an unmannerly, avaricious fellow much looked up to in Tennu on account of his strength, and gained hence much credit from the king and the inhabitants of the land. His yearning after his native country at last left him no peace. With the leave of his royal father-in-law he approached Pharaoh by a petition in writing to be allowed to return. He was received with gladness, and henceforward, loaded with honour, he lived at the court of the ruler of Egypt, who even had his grave erected for him, and 'so he was in the grace of the king till the day of his death arrived.'

The simple story of Sineh has been made available for science from a hieratic roll in the old Egyptian collection at Berlin, through the great acuteness of a learned Englishman, Mr. Goodwin; it is venerable from its high antiquity and the childlike, biblical character of its expressions. We may, however, detect from it pretty clearly that, in the course of the reign of Amenemhat, disquiet and misunderstanding prevailed in the Empire, occasioned by the contest for the sceptre and crown, which the founder of the new dynasty did not so easily obtain. For the band of his opponents threatened him with conspiracies and the dagger, and the crowd of hostile-minded men reached in the night-time the sleeping-chamber of the palace. The king has well described this to his son and heir in a document still preserved, to place before him a mirror of the time and of the men, and to admonish him therein to be a just and true king on his exalted throne.

As the stone monuments inform us, Amenemhat reigned the last ten years of his life in common with his son, Usurtasen, when he was still in tender years. To him his father dedicated the memorial we have mentioned. When he ascended the throne he took the name

KHEPER-KA-RA USURTASEN I.

Under his rule the land gradually was quieted, and the old order was completely re-established by laws firmly carried out. Amenemhat I., as we learn from the great inscription of Beni-Hassan, had been obliged to pass through the revolted country with his soldiers, in order to find and to beat his opponents, since he was not allowed to enjoy the fruit of his deeds in quiet repose. It was reserved to his son Usurtasen I. to win over the minds of men, and before all things, by buildings in honour of the heavenly gods, to gain the favour of the earthly priests. His works as witnesses exist at the present day, and point with eloquent finger to Usurtasen I. as a mighty king.

In the first place the inscription commemorates him in a prominent way, although in a few unimportant sentences, on the well known and often-mentioned obelisk of Heliopolis. At ten hours' distance from Cairo, it rises in the midst of green cornfields, in the immediate neighbourhood of the village Matarieh, consisting of a few huts of poor Arabs and some houses of well-to-do Egyptians, who scarcely know on what a famous soil their feet tread. The temple and town, in truth, lay 1·88 mètres underneath the present soil, and nearly 3·50 mètres

under the present level of high-water. Besides the stone-pointed columns, worked with wonderful art in the hardest and most beautiful rose granite, the long earthen mounds under which lies the surrounding wall, show the extent of the former buildings of the temple, and are the only visible remains of the celebrated city of On or Heliopolis, which all antiquity so loudly praised by the voice of its wise men, its teachers, and priests.

The Egyptians gave the old town the name of Annu (properly meaning the 'pointed columns' or 'obelisks'), generally with the addition 'the north land' to distinguish it from the other Annu in Southern Egypt, which was situated in the neighbourhood of the capital of the Empire, Thebes, better known by its Greek appellation, Hermonthis. Here in Annu (the On of the Bible), there existed from very early times a celebrated temple of the Sun-god, Atum or Tum, a particular local form of Ra, and his wife the goddess Hathor-Jusas, to which the Pharaohs were wont to make pilgrimages, according to ancient custom, to fulfil the directions for the royal consecration in the 'Great House' of the god. When King Piankhi, long after the times of the twelfth dynasty, visited the Temple of the Sun-town, Heliopolis, going from Memphis, on the right side of the river, where a road led by Kherkhau (Babylon, near the present Old Cairo), to On, there, as his stone memorial of victory teaches us, 'he betook himself to the place of the deep sand in On, and made a great offering at the same place of the deep sand opposite the rising sun, and the offering consisted

of white bulls, milk, balsam, incense, and all other sweet-smelling substances. When he approached, in order to enter the temple of the Sun-god Ra, the chief of the temple greeted him with respectful greeting, and the singing priest read the holy words to keep evil away from the king. And the king completed the consecration, putting on the fillets, and purifying himself by incense and holy water. Then he received the wreaths of flowers of the Benben chamber,[1] and brought them forward, mounting the step to the great window, to look at the sun-god Ra in his Benben chamber. The king stood there all alone. He drew back the bolts, opened the door, and beheld his father, the Sun-god Ra in the splendid Benben chamber, and the morning bark of Ra and the evening bark of Tum. After this he shut the doors, laid sealing-earth upon them, and pressed upon it his own royal seal, thus commanding the priests: 'I, I have completed the locking up; no other of any kings shall any more enter in.' While he stood there, they threw themselves on their bellies before his holiness, while they said: 'O you, always increasing the empire, may affliction never come to the divine Horus, the friend of the town of On!' And at his approach to enter the temple of Tum, the likeness of his father, the god Tum-cheper, the greatest god in On, was brought before him.

Although this description has only preserved gene-

[1] The word Benben, in old Egyptian, has the same meaning as the Greek word Pyramidion, i.e. the highest point of an obelisk. The Benben accordingly had the form of a small pyramid, and was venerated in the temple of On with devotion similar to that paid to the omphalos in the temple of Delphi.

rally a representation of the temple at On, of whose precincts as a prototype of all temple buildings the Greek geographer Strabo has left us a picture, yet it is enough to furnish us with an idea of its great importance. The temple at On was already existing in the times of Usurtasen, since the inscriptions of the reigns of his royal ancestors and predecessors frequently mention it.

The existence of the obelisks proves that the building under Usurtasen had reached the gates of the towers, before which it was the custom to erect these giant stone needles. A wonderful document, on parchment, which I had the good fortune to acquire in Thebes in 1858, and which for some years past has been in the possession of the Berlin collection of Egyptian antiquities, makes the fact certain that Usurtasen I., quite at the beginning of his reign, occupied himself with buildings at the temple of the city of the Sun. This important memorial informs us how he, in the third year of his empire, assembled round his throne the first officials of his court, to hear their opinion and their counsel about raising worthy buildings to the sun-god. As usual in such assemblies, the king begins his address with a solemn reference to his divine descent, and to his anticipation of succession to the throne, which was recognised for him already in the womb of his mother. He then connects with this a discourse on the importance of the buildings and monuments dedicated to the gods, starting from the idea that such alone are able to eternalise the memory of a ruler. After this address, the united counsellors

unanimously applaud the good intentions of their lord, and encourage him to carry out the same without delay. The pharaoh then immediately gives his orders to the proper court official, and enjoins him to watch over the uninterrupted progress of the work which had been determined upon. Then ensues, now undertaken by the king himself, the solemn laying of the foundations.

The great obelisk of King Usurtasen I., of which we have spoken above, stood in the principal entrance of the temple of the Sun. Its four sides contained hieroglyphical inscriptions of the following meaning, repeated four times in the same words :—

The Hor of the sun.
The life for those who are born.
The king of the upper and lower land.
Cheper-ka-ra.
the lord of the double crown,
the life for those who are born,
the son of the Sun-god Ra,
Usurtasen,
the friend of the spirits of On,
ever living
the golden Hor
the life for those who are born
the good God
Cheper-ka-ra
has executed this work
in the beginning of the thirty years circle
he the dispenser of life for evermore.

The holy characters, deeply and beautifully cut in the red granite, contain nothing but honorary commemorations of the king, with the addition that Usurtasen caused to be raised the giant stone obelisks

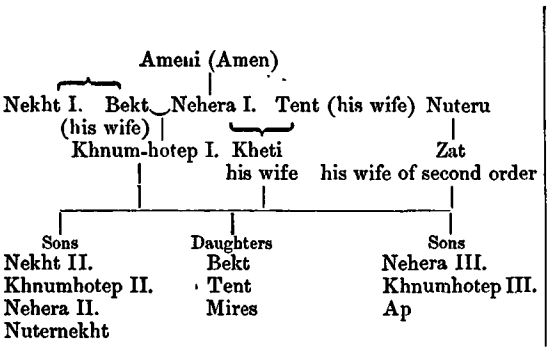
on a certain holiday of the old Egyptian calendar. The reader would be deceived who thought himself entitled to make important discoveries of historical import or pious and wise proverbs in the four rows of inscriptions, and in their place he meets with only meaningless and unimportant expressions. But that is an unfortunate defect inherent in the most beautiful and grandest monuments of Egypt, which owe their origin to an effort of kingly power, that they contain in a similar way empty flatteries in honour of the king, with a customary repetition of the same idea, without any deep meaning which would correspond to the labour of the work and the choice of the material. In ancient Egypt they only knew this manner of singing praises to the proud temper and arrogance of the pharaohs, in contrast to our time and its intellectual efforts. Usurtasen must have had a peculiar preference for that sort of perpetuation of his name; at least, remains which have been discovered in other parts betoken his inclination to the laborious erection of stone obelisks. In the old district of the so-called Mœris lake, in the vicinity of the modern Arab village Begig, are the fragments of a similar memorial, which, according to the tenor of the inscription, was carried out by the king in honour of the local gods of the capital Shet or Sheti. The Greeks called it Crocodilopolis, from the name of the animal which was worshipped there.

As his father, the first Amenemhat, had begun to lay the foundations of the late imperial temple at Thebes, the so-called Temple of Apetu, the ruins of

which now cover the region of the neighbouring Arab village of Karnak, to the east of the granite building of the holy of holies, so the son of Usurtasen carried out in like manner new works, in addition to those of his father, as proofs of his veneration for the divine Amon. His care in this respect was not confined to the dwelling of the god, but he paid attention also to the principal holy servants of Amon. He dedicated to them a particular place, which bore the name of 'the holy dwelling of the first seer of Amon.' The fact is no longer proved by existing traces of this ancient building, but by an inscription, found in Thebes, which relates the re-erection of the same by the ninth king, of the name of Ramses (with the official name Nofer-ka-ra). In those times there lived and acted in Thebes the first seer of Amon, by name Amenhotep, a son of Ramses Nekht, who exercised the same office in the service of the god. After he had occupied the seat of his father, he thought it before all things incumbent on him to re-erect the great Court of Amon (p-iban-ao), and the dwelling of the first seer of Amon, and to defray the cost from his own means. He relates on this subject as follows:—'Since I now have found the holy dwelling of the first seer of Amon, who of old sat in the house of Amon the king of the gods, menaced with decay, since what there was of it dated from the time of King Usurtasen the First, I caused it to be built anew, in beautiful work and with tasteful labour. I caused to be re-erected the thickness of the surrounding wall from behind to the fore part. I caused the buildings to be raised, and their columns

to be placed of hard stone in tasteful work.' Thus he makes his report. As a recognition of his generous sacrifices, the king made him, in the tenth year, and the nineteenth day of the month Hathor, a rich reward, as will be stated in the proper place.

One of the celebrated rock tombs, which on the steep height of the hills of Beni-Hassan already greet the traveller from a far distance, has preserved in its inscriptions, which deck the walls with rich representations, some historical remembrances of the first five rulers of this dynasty, and among them Usurtasen. It is the same tomb which exhibits the new appearance of the pillar changed into the column for the first time, and by the construction of the front, so plain to the eye, enhances the peculiar richness of its instructive pictures (now, alas! always becoming more and more injured), and rivets the attention of the spectator. Chiselled in the rocks, like the whole row of tombs lying beside it, is the rock-hewn hall, dedicated to the service of the dead and to the memory of deceased lords and ladies of the olden time, all belonging to a race of ancient origin and hereditary possession of the region in the neighbourhood of their graves. The ancient writing designates it as the nome of Mah, the land of the inheritance, better known in later times as the region of the town of Antinöe. The first Khnumhotep is the first in time as well as in importance of the generations of the dead, whose genealogy may be thus represented by the help of notices from the inscriptions.



The history of Ameni, the founder of the genealogy, is related in an inscription in two columns, engraved in holy letters on the door of the entrance. He is introduced speaking himself, according to the ancient practice, and he tersely and simply relates the chief incidents of his life.

'In the year 43, under the majesty of the king Usurtasen I.—may he live long, even to eternity—which (year) corresponds with the twenty-fifth year, in the nome of Mah, where the chief Amen was himself governor.

'In the forty-third year, the fourteenth day of the month Paophi. Address to those who still love life, and who detest death. May they recite a prayer for the offerings of the dead in favour of the hereditary governor-in-chief, of the nome of Mah (some other titles follow), the steward of the holy seers, Amen, who has conquered (death). I accompanied my master when he made an expedition to beat the enemies in the country of the Atu. I took part in the expedition, as

the son of the most noble lord, who was commander of the troops and governor of the nome of Mah, as a substitute (?) for my father, who was old, and who had received rewards from the palace, for he was beloved at the court. I arrived at the country of Kash (the land of the negroes), ascending the stream, and the way led me to the extreme boundary of the land. I conducted the booty of my master, and my praises reached heaven when his holiness returned happily. He beat his enemies in the miserable country of Kash. I returned home in his retinue, with a happy countenance. No one was wanting of my warriors.'

'I left again to conduct the golden treasures to his holiness king Usurtasen—may he live long. I went with the eldest prince and heir Ameni—life, welfare, and health to him. I left with the number of 400 persons, the chosen of my warriors. They returned happily home, and no one was wanting. I brought the pieces of gold. It was for me the commencement of distinctions on the part of the kings.

'My father praised me. Behold that I again ascended the river to accompany the treasures to the town of Coptos, with the prince the heir, the highest governor of the town, Usurtasen—life, welfare, and health to him! I ascended the river with 400 men, the chosen of the warriors of the nome of Mah. I arrived happily. My warriors can certify all that I have said.

'I was full of goodness, and of a gentle character—a prince who loved his town. For years I exercised

my power as governor in the nome of Mah. All the works for the palace of the king were placed in my hands. Behold that the chiefs of . . . of the temples of the divinities of the nome of Mah gave me thousands of bulls with their calves. I was praised for that on the part of the royal palace, because of the yearly delivery of cows in milk. I gave up all their products to the palace, and I kept back nothing for myself out of all his workshops. The whole nome of Mah worked for me with multiplied activity. But I never afflicted the child of the poor; I have not ill-treated the widow. I never disturbed any owner of land; I never drove away the herdsman. I never took away his men for (my) works from the five-hand master. There were none wretched in my time; the hungry did not exist in my time, even when there were years of famine. For, behold that I had ploughed all the fields of the district of Mah, up to its frontiers, both south and north. Thus I found food for its inhabitants, and gave them the food which they produced. There were no hungry people in it. I gave equally to the widow as to the married woman. I did not prefer a great personage to a humble man in all that I gave away; and when the inundations of the Nile were great, he who sowed was master of his crop. I kept back nothing for myself from the revenues of the field.'

The last part of this curious inscription, in which Amen sings his own praises, has not failed to attract the attention of several authors, who thought they could recognise in it an allusion to the history of Joseph in

Egypt, and to the seven years of famine under his government. We must, however, be on our guard, for two reasons, against believing that King Usurtasen I., under whose reign there was a famine in Egypt, was the Pharaoh of Joseph.

There is first of all the difference of time, which requires quite another reign for the history of the patriarch, and then the indubitable fact that there are other texts dating under quite different sovereigns which make mention of famines, and which according to facts and time entirely correspond with the biblical accounts of the years of famine which followed one another. What the inscription of Amen or Ameni is fitted to teach us in a historical point of view is confined to the information regarding a military expedition of the king directed against the inhabitants of the land of Kash, called in the Holy Scriptures the land of Kush. In this country dwelt anciently the dark-coloured race of pure negro blood from the Egyptian boundary at Syene, southwards towards the sources of the Nile. The names of the races of the land of Kush conquered by the first Usurtasen, or perhaps rather the names of the countries inhabited by them, are preserved on a memorial which was found in the neighbourhood of the present Wady Halfa, a little above the cataract, and is at present exhibited in the collection of Egyptian antiquities at Florence.[1]

[1] During a journey which I made in Italy this year, I had the opportunity of seeing, at Florence, the stone which was first mentioned by Champollion (*Letters from Egypt*, p. 101, 2nd ed.), and of copying exactly the above-mentioned names. The former spelling of some of them has been corrected.

They were named in their order Kas, Shemik, Chesea, Sheat, Acherkin; what follows on this precious monument has unfortunately been destroyed. Wady Halfa, the ancient place of the column of victory, was, without doubt, the last point to which Usurtasen extended his campaign against the inhabitants of the negroland we have mentioned. He undertook it in order to fix the boundaries of the newly acquired land at the second cataract, in the neighbourhood of which these tribes were located. We will further on relate how Wady Halfa became the well-fortified southern boundary of the empire.

The arms of the Egyptians thus succeeded in winning for their country in the South new territories and new precious productions of the soil (in Nubia it was the gold which they sought before everything else). Usurtasen also directed his view to the east, to the caverns and mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula, which had been already worked at an earlier period by the kings of Memphitic origin. Usurtasen sent new colonists to the lonely valleys of this district to beat out of the rock, and work up real Mafkat (turquoises) and copper for the wants of Egypt. Some inscriptions of the Egyptian workmen and officials, which the king had sent there, bear witness to their presence in the valley of Magharah, where the lapse of forty centuries has not obliterated the traces of their activity.

The road from Egypt to Sinai led from the low lands of the Delta by the narrow road which Sineha, in his flight from Egypt to Edom, was obliged to pass. Here, in the low lands on the eastern side, traces of the

power of Usurtasen show themselves. In Tanis, 'the great city' of the lower country, inhabited all round by races of Semitic origin, the kings of the twelfth dynasty had already raised buildings and invoked the sculptor's art, to do honour to the gods themselves by these splendid works. The portrait of Usurtasen even has been found in some ruins of this temple world.

Many noble people once served the king. The storm of thousands of years has generally swept away their remembrance, and traces of only a few of them have escaped destruction. Among these was the official Mentu-hotep, whose tombstone, covered with rich inscriptions, is exhibited at Boulak. According to the custom of the time, Mentu-hotep is introduced, sometimes speaking himself, sometimes being spoken of. And what he says is his own praise, his service to the gods, the king, and the country in which he once lived and worked. Let us listen to his confessions, for they disclose to us incidentally historical notices not without value for a knowledge of the times with which we are momentarily occupied. Thus does the mouth of Mentu-hotep, which has long been silent, describe himself in his own praise.

He prides himself on having been 'a man learned in the law, a legislator,' one who apportioned the duties and ordered the works of the district, who kept order in the whole land, who carried out all the behests of the king, who as judge decided and restored his property to its owner. As chief architect of the king he promoted the worship of the gods, and instructed the inhabitants of the country according to the best of his knowledge,

'as God orders to be done.' He protected the poor, and freed him who was in want of freedom. Peace was in the words which came from his mouth, and the book of the wise Thot was on his tongue. Very skilled in artistic work, with his own hand he carried out his designs as they ought to be carried out. Being the first in the country, the king's heart was full of him, and the great and distinguished of the court gave him their love. He knew the hidden thoughts of men, and he appreciated a man according to his value. He compelled the enemies of the king to submit to the court of justice of the thirty. He punished the foreigners, quieted the Herusha, and made peace with the negroes. He was governor in the towns of Ant and the lands of Tesher. He gave his orders to the land of the south, and imposed the taxes on the north land.' In a word, Mentu-hotep, who besides was invested with religious functions and entrusted with the treasure of the pharaoh, was the *alter ego* of the king. 'When he arrived, the great personages bowed down before him at the outer door of the royal palace.'

His panegyric, which embraces twenty-two long lines, finishes with a remark relating to certain buildings. These last, probably a sanctuary belonging to the temple of Osiris, and a well, were executed by the special order of king Mentu-hotep. He says on this subject: 'I it was who arranged the work for the building of the temple . . . . and sunk the well according to the order of the holiness of the royal lord.'

The well is probably the same about which, more than 2,000 years after its foundation, the Greek

geographer Strabo relates that in the Memnonium of Abydos there was a well, to the bottom of which there was a descent by a way covered with arches of a single stone across, admirable for size and architecture. We have as yet not been successful in finding it, in spite of several attempts to discover its situation. What is related as to the building of the temple of Abydos which Usurtasen caused to be carried out by Mentu-hotep, is furnished by a memorial stone in the Louvre (c. No. 12), which is of the time of one of the kings of the thirteenth Theban dynasty, the otherwise unknown King Ra-kha-n-maa Ra-n-ter. A governor of the temple of Abydos, by name Ameni-Seneb, who lived in the time of the above-mentioned ruler, relates about this subject as follows: 'There came to me the scribe of the governor Seneb, a son of the governor, to call me with reference to the proposal of the governor. And I went with him, and I found the governor, who was in his office. And this prince gave me the order in my presence, saying thus: "Be entrusted with the cleansing of the temple of Abydos. Workmen shall be given you with this object, and temple servants of the district of the holy workshop." And I cleansed it from below and from above, and its walls which surrounded the interior. And the writings were filled out with colour, and emblems, and other ornamental work, and all was renewed which king Usurtasen I. had built.'

The work of Mentu-hotep did not then, for some time to come, go to decay, although the drifting sand of the desert, in ancient times as now, did all that was

possible to fill the temple of Osiris right up to the roof. A second cleansing, and at the same time, restoration, of this very old temple of Osiris took place in the time and by order of the third Thutmes. An inscription still preserved, which we discovered at Abydos, informs us of this, as will be more fully stated in its place.

First under Seti, the father of the second Ramses, the temple, which had suffered much from the tooth of time, had the good fortune to be completely rebuilt—a fact for which Ramses takes to himself the greatest credit.

To return to our Mentu-hotep. We must recognise in him one of those men distinguished for all sorts of knowledge and accomplishments, who were entrusted again and again with dignities and offices, to which our later times offer nothing in comparison. For he was at the same time a man learned in the law and a legislator, an administrator of the private and the public buildings, who busied himself with priestly and divine things, and carried on foreign wars with the neighbours of the Egyptian empire. But the times were then different to what they now are. The extent of the administration of the State was then limited, and there did not exist preliminary schools for any particular career. The man of energy and industry occupied the place of the highly-trained official, who does not invent or develop anything out of his own resources, but receives from others instructions destined to be useful to him in the career which at some later time he chooses of his own free will.

Among a number of other servants of the king we must, in conclusion, name Meri, the son of Menkhtu. From a stone inscription exhibited in the Egyptian Hall of the Louvre, of the 29th of Paophi, of the ninth year of the reign of Usurtasen I., it appears clear that Meri received from Pharaoh himself the commission to construct for his royal master 'the august places of long duration,' or in other words, the tombs on a grand scale, with columns, gates, and a great court of entrance, all carried out in well-hewn limestone from the old quarries of Troja, opposite the town of Memphis.

We will here leave king Usurtasen I., and turn to his successor, whom the monuments call by the double name

NUB-KAU-RA AMENEMHAT,

consequently the second Amenemhat according to our mode of speech. Few memorials of historical importance have survived to us of his days, to allow us to cast a glance upon the internal and external position of the Egyptian empire. But it is evident, from still existing inscriptions, that the second Amenemhat trod in the footsteps of his predecessor by extending the southern boundaries of the empire, and, by building well fortified places on the frontier, defended the inhabitants of the south against the incursions of the negroes. The possession of their country, as I have already remarked, had an especial importance for an Egyptian ruler, because its mountains, besides many precious stones, pro-

duced gold, which the ancients sought as eagerly as our later generations.

A stone memorial discovered in Abydos, relating to a distinguished official of the second Amenemhat, has preserved to us some remarkable notices about the journeys which were undertaken by some great men at the command of the king, to examine the conquered countries, and to urge on the collection of gold. Incidentally the memorial informs us of the well-known fact that the talented servants of the Pharaoh were entrusted with commissions of the most various kinds.

To these belonged Se-hathor, a true servant of his lord, one of the most distinguished officials of the court, who spared himself no pains to fulfil the commands of Pharaoh according to his wishes. In few but very instructive words, he tells us in the following manner his missions by the royal command: 'I here opened a mine with the young men, and forced the old to wash gold. I brought back the profits. I came as far as the border-land (since called Nubia). The negroes inhabiting it came, subdued by the fear which the lord of the land inspired. I entered the land Heba, visited its water places, and opened its harbours.' The land of Heba, or as it was also called, Heb, lay below the second cataract. Se-hathor seems to have been the first who explored its situation. Later, under the third Usurtasen, an immense stone covered with inscriptions was erected at Semneh, which served as a mark of the Egyptian boundary for the inhabitants of the country of Heba. The same Se-hathor, who

boasts 'that he was sent by his holiness many times on missions of all sorts,' mentions in another place of his memorial stone a service of a peculiar description. Let us hear him speak himself: 'They caused me to go over to the building of (king) Amenu, whose pyramid is called Khorp—may he live for ever!—to get made fifteen columns of long-lasting stone. It came to pass (the restoration of this), which was thrown down, was completed in three months. Never was the like done since the rule of the sun-god Ra.'

King Amenu, whose name and existence we only know from this short inscription, appears nowhere else on the monuments. He must, however, belong to the rulers immediately before the twelfth dynasty, and in all probability was an ancestor of the Pharaohs of that dynasty. As such he had a right to the reverence due to a king after his death. Fifteen statues in his house or grave were thrown down in one day. We can easily imagine the perpetration of such mischief in the stormy times of the struggle for the throne at the entrance of the twelfth dynasty in the list of Pharaohs. And it was the care of his successor Amenemhat to give the strictest orders for the re-establishment and re-erection of the public monuments which evidently had been injured. So Se-hathor required only two months to carry out the wishes of the king.

In some towns of Lower Egypt there are traces of the royal might of king Amenemhat; for there was found, under the rubbish and ruins of the destroyed temples, the life-size statue, in black granite, of the wife

of this king, who bore the name Nofert, which means either 'the good,' or 'the beautiful.' The royal lady sits with her hair done in ancient fashion, on her throne, on which her full names and titles are chiselled.

After a reign of nine-and-twenty years, the king associated with him on the throne, his son. He bore the name

KHA-KA-RA USURTASEN (II).

His history is only found here and there on the monuments in a disjointed manner. We can with all confidence affirm, from the scattered notices, that under the rule of this second Usurtasen the empire was in the height of its prosperity. Some lines which are engraven on the rock in the town of Assooan, the ancient Syene, and which date from the common reign of the two kings, father and son, bear witness that the ruler had directed his attention to the southern border-land (Nubia). In this case it is the region Wa-wat about which an official of the king gives information, making his report of the watch kept on the frontiers.

The first kings of the twelfth dynasty with whom we have been hitherto occupied, and after whom we will place the following Pharaoh, Usurtasen III., are mentioned in their succession on the long eloquent inscription which adorns the under border of the hall of sacrifice over the rock tomb of Khnumhotep at Beni-Hassan. In order to give the reader a correct account of the life and labours of these great lords in the pub-

lic life of those times, we will lay before him a literal translation of the old speech, in which, for the sake of brevity, we suppress only the particular titles of honour of the individual kings, because they are cumbersome and interrupt the connexion.

1. The hereditary lord and blood relation of the king, who loves his God, the governor

2. of the district of the East, Nehera's son Khnumhotep, who has overcome (death),

3. the son of the daughter of an hereditary lord, the lady Beket, who has overcome (death),

4. the same has carried out this as a memorial of him. His first virtue consisted in this, that he a benefactor

5. was to his town, so that he gained lasting remembrance for his name for long, long years

6. and that he, through his good works, immortalised it in his tomb

7. of the under world. He made the name of his employés famous,

8. who did good works according to their rank.

9. Since good men were the inhabitants of his

10. houses. He who distinguished himself among his

11. serfs; to him lay open every appointment

12. and all honour (?), as is the custom.

13. His mouth speaks thus: it has raised me,

14. the holiness of the king

15–16. Amenemhat II., to be

17. hereditary lord and governor of the countries of the East,

18. and chief priest of Hor and of the holy lioness Pakht, and to

19. inherit of the father of my mother in the town

20. Menat-khufu, he placed

21. for me the frontier column, towards the south; he raised

22. the one towards the north corresponding with the region of heaven.

23. He gave me, as my share, as far as the great river on his territory,

24. as was done to the father

25. of my mother, at the beginning,

26. for an order came from the mouth
27. of the holiness of the king
28. Sehotep-ab-ra,
29. Amenemhat.
30. He made him (the father of my mother) hereditary lord
31. governor of the countries of the East, in the town of Menat-khufu.
32. He fixed the frontier column towards the south, and raised
33. that towards the north, according to the direction of the heaven. He caused the great river to be spread out for him,
34. over his territory. His eastern part
35. went from the district of Tut-Hor, and extended as far as the east lands.
36. It was at that time when his holiness returned after he had suppressed
37. the insurrection, manifesting himself like the god Tum (the evening sun)
38. himself. He restored that which he found
39. destroyed. Taking possession of one town
40. after another, he informed himself of one town and
41. its boundaries to the next town, placing
42. their frontier columns.
43. Taking cognisance of their waters,
44. according to the written documents, and reckoning it according
45. to their value (of production), conformably to the greatness
46. of his love of justice. And after this he made him
47. hereditary lord and chief officer of the nome of Mah.
48. He placed for him the frontier columns;
49. the south was on its frontier, towards
50. the nome of Hermopolis, its north towards the nome of Cynopolis. He distributed to him
51. the great river over his territory,
52. its waters, its fields, its trees, and
53. his uncultivated land extended to the country of the West.
54. And he made his eldest son Nekht,
55. who had overcome (death), the very worthy, a prince;
56. his inheritance was in the town of Menat-khufu,
57. as a sign of great thanks
58. from the royal favour. A decree

59. went out from the mouth of his holiness
60. the king,
61. Cheper-ka-ra Usurtasen I.,
62. noble may be his first-born.
63. My mother entered upon
64. the dignity of a hereditary lady, and
65. as a daughter of a prince
66. of the nome of Mah, in the town of Ha-Sehotep-ab-ra,
67. to become the wife
68. of a hereditary lord and prince of towns,
69. was enchanted the heart of the king, the lord of Upper Egypt, and delighted (?) was
70. the lord of Lower Egypt when he united her to the prefect
71. Nehera, the highly honoured. He introduced me,
72. the king Amenemhat II.,
73. as the son of a lord to the inheritance
74. of a principality of the father of my mother, according to the greatness
75. of his love of justice—the god Tum
76. he is himself. And Amenemhat II.
77. he made me
78. a governor, in the nineteenth year, in
79. the town of Menat-khufu. There I provided
80. and arranged for establishing an abundance of necessaries
81. in all sorts of things, and made prosperous
82. the name of my father, and did good for the dwellings
83. of the revered ones (the dead) and their houses, and I caused to be dragged my statues
84. to the holy dwelling and distributed to them
85. their offering in pure gifts.
86. I instituted the officiating priest, to whom I gave
87. donations in lands and
88. peasants. I ordered
89. funeral offerings for all the feasts
90. of the under world, at the feast of the new year, at the beginning of the year, at the feast of the little year,
91. at the feast of the great year, at the feast of the end of the year,
92. at the feast of the great joyful feast, at the feast of the great heat,

93. at the feast of the little heat, at the feast of the five supplementary days
94. of the year, at the feast of Shetat, at the feast of the sand,
95. at the twelve monthly feasts, at the twelve half-monthly feasts,
96. at all the feasts on the plain and mountain. If it happen
97. that the priest or any other person
98. cease to do this, then may he not exist, and may
99. his son not sit in his seat.

We will here finish the translation of this inscription, which the writer continues for many more lines.

The author of it relates to us, in ancient language, the history of one of the most noble families of the country, who lived and worked under the first kings of the twelfth dynasty. We recognise here, besides hints of warlike events in consequence of a change of dynasty, the happy times of a wise and peaceable government, animated with zeal for the welfare of the living, for the service of the gods, and for the remembrance of the dead. In the same places where in our day poor villages with a miserable population present themselves to the eyes of travellers, there were of yore flourishing towns inhabited by an industrious people, and a cultivated country watered by a number of canals extended at the foot of the hills. There were splendid temples frequented by religious multitudes; and the eye admired on the rocky heights magnificent tombs, with rich colouring, hewn in the rock of the mountain in honour of the dead, whose mummies, carefully embalmed and richly decorated, reposed in deep closed wells, deeply pierced in the rock and hidden from the eyes of the curious. Of all this grandeur

there have been only some few remains saved from the general destruction, which, thanks to their concealed situation and enormous strength, neither the hand of man nor the tooth of time have been able to destroy. Still, in their ruins, these remains recall to us a state of civilisation so high and so devoted to progress that our age of grand discoveries and high intellectual efforts remains stupefied in the presence of these giants of times gone by.

On examining attentively the words which the above-mentioned inscription puts into the mouth of Khnumhotep, some very interesting observations offer themselves for forming just ideas on the organisation of the public administration, and particularly on the rights which regulated the hereditary succession, according to which the sons and daughters of the governors of the towns and country played a great part. The nobility possessed these rights either by birth or by alliance with a daughter who possessed them hereditarily. It was the reigning Pharaoh who sanctioned them by decrees. The place and dignity of the hak, or governor, is especially of great importance in order to well understand the events which, in the history of Egypt, have so often upset dynasties and changed the regular progress of public affairs. We shall later on have occasion to return to this question, which will serve to explain several facts of great influence in the development of the political state of Egypt.

Another observation, which the text of Beni-Hassan requires us to make, relates to the interest which the Pharaohs took personally in the fixing of the limits which

separated the nomes and the towns, and in the distribution of the mass of water which at the epoch of the inundation was spread over the lands. There was good reason for this great care. On the one hand disputes were avoided, which are sometimes inevitable with regard to property, and on the other hand, 'the registers' mentioned in our text had the value of written proofs, which in the name of the Pharaoh, gave accurate information on the apportionment of the lands, according to which the taxes were of course levied.

A third and last point which we cannot pass by in silence relates rather to science than to the organisation of the administration. We speak of the long series of festivals of the old Egyptian calendar mentioned at length towards the end of the inscription. We see that already, at this remote epoch in the history of the world, the savans on the banks of the Nile were much occupied in watching the course of the stars and their return, to place them in connexion with regularly recurring appearances of the cultivated earth. They had firmly fixed ideas of the form of the various lengths of the year.

In order to elucidate this interesting question, we must give the translation of a calendrical text, which is engraved over the entrance door of the mortuary chapel of Khnumhotep at Beni-Hassan.

There are here enumerated the following series of funeral feasts, which we have arranged in such a manner as to make them easily understood by the reader. The days of the months, which we have placed against some of them, are taken from other

monuments, which thus more clearly determine the time of the feasts.

Feasts of the year:—

1. Feast of the new year.
2. Feast of the great year.
3. Feast of the little year.

Feasts of the month:—

1. Feast of the great heat (at the beginning of the month of (Mechir).
2. Feast of the little heat (at the beginning of the month of Phamenoth).

Feasts of the days:—

1. The 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 8th, 15th, 17th, 29th and 30th day of each month.
2. The five complementary days of the year.

Particular feasts:—

1. Feast of the rising of Sothis (Sirius).
2. Feast called Uak (the 17th to 18th Thot).
3. Feast of Thot (the 19th Thot).
4. Feast of navigation.
5. Feast of commencement of the inundation.
6. Feast of bark Tebet.
7. The great joyful feast.
8. The good feast on the mountain.
9. The so-called asha feast.

A comparison of these feasts with the catalogue of holidays which the long inscription quoted before gave us, enables us to perceive that the last, although less complete, contains three feasts beyond the number stated above. These are the feast of the beginning of the year, another feast at the end of the year, and a third, called the Shetat-feast.

It is evident from a study of these calendrical feasts that 2500 B.C. the Egyptians had a know-

ledge of four different years. We should not be far wrong in laying down that the new year had reference to the so-called changing year, and the celebration of the beginning of the year to the fixed year. There then remains for the little year the hypothesis of its being the lunar year; and on the other hand we must suppose the great year to be the so-called dogstar circle, or the lunar year with an intercalation. It will depend on further researches to find an explanation of these four forms of years, and to show their calendrical connection.

The rich paintings placed with profusion on the walls of the tomb of Khnumhotep have an inappreciable value for a knowledge of the arts, the trades, and the domestic and public life of the Egyptians of this epoch, quite apart from the holy things to which, in detail, the paintings and inscriptions relate. The very interesting scenes with which the hall of sacrifice is adorned are of great importance in an historical point of view. They relate to the arrival in Egypt of a family of the Semitic nation of the Amu, which has quitted its native country to fix its abode on the blessed banks of the Nile, under the reign of Usurtasen II. This family is composed of thirty-seven persons, men, women, and children, who present their respects to the person of Khnumhotep, asking of him, as it seems, a good reception. The royal scribe Noferhotep, an official in the service of Khnumhotep, offers to his chief a leaf of papyrus, with an inscription in this sense: 'In the sixth year in the reign of King Usurtasen II.; an account of the

Amu who brought to the son of a prince Khnumhotep, while he was alive, the paint for the eyes called Mastemut of the country of Pitshu. Their number is composed of thirty-seven persons.' The scribe in question is followed by another personage, an Egyptian by nation, which a small hieroglyphic legend designates as 'the steward of those, of the name of Khiti.' Without doubt, then, these Semitic immigrants, as soon as they arrived in the territory of Khnumhotep, were placed under the care of Khiti. After these personages who are charged with the introduction, the chief of the Amu presents himself with his suite. The first bears the name and the title of "hak prince of the country of Abesha." This name is of pure Semitic origin, and recalls that of Abishai, borne by the son of the sister of king David, who was distinguished by his military talents in the service of his uncle. Our Abesha approaches respectfully the person of Khnumhotep, whom 'the eldest son whom God had given him accompanies,' and offers him, as a gift or baksheesh, a magnificent wild goat of the kind still found in our day on the rocks of the peninsula of Sinai. Behind him we see his travelling companions, bearded men, armed with lances, bows, and clubs; the women, dressed in the lively fashions of the Amu; the children, and the asses, loaded with the baggage of the travellers, fixing their curious eyes on the Egyptian lord Khnumhotep; while a companion of the little party seems to elicit the harmony of sounds, by the aid of a plectrum, playing on a lyre of very old form. An inscription, traced above

the scene which we have been describing, informs us that it is an arrival to bring the 'paint for the eyes, Mastemut, which thirty-seven Amu bring.' The paint in question was an article very much prized in Egypt. It served as a cosmetic to dye the eyebrows and the eyelids a black colour, and they painted under the two eyes a green stripe as a strange adornment. This paint was furnished by the Arabs or Shasu, who inhabited the land called Pitshu (the particular Egyptian term for the better-known Midian), and, with their laden beasts, took the desert route from the East to Egypt, to traffic with the inhabitants of the Nile Valley. This curious picture may serve as an illustration of the history of the sons of Jacob, who arrived in Egypt to implore the favour of Joseph. But it would be a singular error to suppose in this picture at Beni-Hassan any allusion to the history in the Holy Scriptures.

We cannot finish the history of King Usurtasen II. without returning to the long text of Beni-Hassan, which reveals to us the life of Khnumhotep and his children, in connection with the kings of their country, whose interest in their family was often shown by the posts and honours they conferred upon them. After having made known the events which distinguished his life, Khnumhotep continues to call the attention of the reader to the honours accorded to his descendants on the part of the Pharaohs. Khnumhotep gives the following account:—

121. Another distinction was accorded me.

122. My eldest son Nekht, born of Kheti, was named

123. governor of the nome of Cynopolis,
124. on account of the hereditary right of the father of his mother.
125. Hence he became one of the king's friends;
126. he was made chief of the region
127. of the South. He was counted in the number
128. of noble lords by the holiness of
129. the king
130–131. Usurtasen II. He (the king) left behind
132. his memorial in the nome of Cynopolis, since he restored
133. what he found ruined, taking possession
134. of one town after another, he got fixed
135. his boundary, so that he might settle the taxation
136. according to its income,
137. placing a frontier column
138. on his southern limit, and erecting the northern one
139. according to the direction of the heaven, and he assigned the surface
140. of the uncultivated fields, containing
141. as many as fifteen boundary stones, and he assigned the surface
142. of its cultivable lands. In the north was its frontier,
143. at the Oxyrhynchite nome. He allowed to be spread
144. the great river over its territory,
145. its western boundary started from the Cynopolite nome as far
146. as the country of the West.'

In spite of several difficulties which are unavoidable in this very ancient language, thus much is evident, that Nekht, son of Khnumhotep, was named governor of the Cynopolitan nome, situated to the north of the nome of Mah, and at the same time that he had conferred upon him the dignity of chief of the 'Southern land.' It is almost certain that this embraced several nomes which were to the south of the Oxyrhynchite nome.

KHA-KAU-RA USURTASEN III.

was the name of the previous king's successor. His name had a good sound in those days of the prosperity of the Egyptian empire, since he distinguished himself above all other kings by his power and wisdom. His fame long outlived him. The memory of this powerful and warlike king has also been preserved through the course of ages down to our own time, thanks to the sentiments of gratitude which made the Egyptians perpetuate the memory of the great king Usurtasen III., whom they honoured with divine worship, building him temples, and offering sacrifices to him. During the whole of his reign this Pharaoh was particularly engaged in military expeditions, which were directed against the unfortunate negroes inhabiting the land of Kush, with the view of regulating the frontiers and constructing fortresses to stop once for all the robber inroads into Egypt on the side of the south. His predecessors had extended their campaigns tolerably far to the south, some even to the second cataract; but the complete subjection of the inhabitants of these countries had not nearly been completed.

The inscription on a stone which was discovered on the island of Elephantina by an English traveller, beginning with, 'In the year 8, month Epiphi,' of our Usurtasen III., 'the friend of the goddess Sati, of Elephantina,' names especially this as the time when the king moved forward 'to beat the miserable land of Kush.' In another inscription coming

from Abydos mention is made of a similar campaign of the king against 'the miserable Kush,' under the date of the nineteenth year of the reign of the king. Of these two campaigns, the first finds its confirmation from the inscription of a memorial stone, which was found in the neighbourhood of Wady Halfa.

Here, close below the second cataract of the Nile, King Usurtasen built sanctuaries and fortresses on the heights which commanded both banks of the river. Their remains still exist in our day, and are now known under the name of Semne and Koomme. The origin of this denomination must be very ancient, since the words Samina and Koummou, traced in Greek characters before the Christian era, are found on an inscription of the walls of the temple of Semne. Two large stone columns, covered with long inscriptions, served anciently as boundary stones to fix the frontier between the negroland called Heh and the Egyptian empire. Both were placed here, on the territory of the above-named fortresses, under the reign and by the order of Usurtasen III., as a visible warning to the dusky-coloured races of the so-called Nubia. The inscription of the older stone begins with the short but eloquent words: 'This is the frontier of the South, which was fixed in the year 8, in the reign of his majesty King Usurtasen III., who gives life eternally. Let it not be permitted to any negro to cross it on his journey, except barks loaded with all kinds of cattle, oxen, goats, and asses belonging to the negroes, and except the negro who comes to barter in the land of Aken. To these, on the contrary, every-

thing good shall be given. But otherwise let it not be permitted to a vessel belonging to negroes to enter on its road the country of Heh.'

Without doubt Aken is the old name of the country of Nubia, which Pliny (vi. 184), in his enumeration of the towns of Ethiopia, described by the explorers of Nero, calls by the designation of Acina, since he mentions it directly after the well-known hill fortress, Primi (now Qasr Ibrim), and gives it a distance of 310,000 Roman paces from Syene. The situation of the place agrees sufficiently with the conditions which necessarily connect it with the Aken or Akin of the times of the third Usurtasen, near the Second Cataract.

The war against, and final subjection of, the lower negroland, Kush or Kash—since it is thus that the inscriptions of the twelfth dynasty expressly name the theatre of the warlike deeds of the Egyptians of this period—was carried on not without cruelty; and the pictures—which on the stone columns of victory of the sixteenth year of Usurtasen III. give an idea of the way in which the war was carried on against the negroes—remind one of the most infamous razzias in the recent history of African warfare. The king, who penetrated into the interior of the country between the Nile and the Red Sea, took possession of the women, caught the men (who had gone to their wells), drove away the cattle, and set fire to the standing crops.

Such a merciless, continued persecution of the inhabitants of Nubia, who had been already oppressed by the Pharaohs, in the end intimidated them, and they were induced to submit to Egyptian supremacy and

protection, and to endure the unavoidable loss of their freedom and independence. Usurtasen gained his object, and from Syene to beyond the second cataract, the Nile valley and the country on both sides of the river became part of the Egyptian empire, and the gods of the Pharaohs took up their abode in their temples newly-founded on the territory which had been won.

As its conqueror, Usurtasen necessarily stood in especial honour with his contemporaries as well as with later generations—and we can quite understand that posterity should accord him the honours of a god-protector of Nubia. More than fifteen centuries after the events which had taken place on Nubian territory under Usurtasen III., the great Thutmes III. —the real Alexander of Egyptian history—caused to be built to his ancestor on the spot where he had raised the fortress of Semne, a temple which was consecrated for ever to the memory of the god-king Usurtasen III., beside the newly-created divinity of the country, Totun, a particular form of the ram-headed Khnum of Elephantina. Thus, for example, we can read at Semne the following inscription: 'O you princes who approach this memorial stone, who love and invoke the gods of your country, who intend to reach again your native towns, say here your prayers before the Nubian god Totun . . . . and before the defunct king Usurtasen III., that they may graciously permit the usual funeral offering in memory of such a one.' The same King Thutmes III. had not omitted to consecrate standing altars to the before-named gods Totun and Usurtasen, and the god Khnum, and to found sacrifices, to

be offered on the anniversaries, and at the times of the principal feasts of the Egyptian calendar, by the priests of the temple of Semne. Thus it was, to use an expression of the Egyptians, that Thutmes III. caused to live again monumentally the memory of his glorious ancestor.

This is the text which contains the great dedicatory inscription put up by the Alexander of old Egypt in memory of these deeds.

'In the year 2, in the 7th day of the month Paoni, in the reign of his holiness King Thutmes III., friend of the god Totun, residing in Nubia, the holiness of the king spoke thus to Nahi, the prince-governor of the regions of the South: "Thou shalt cause to be engraved on a stone the sacrifices to be consecrated to the King Usurtasen III. . . . . in the temple of his father Totun. A grateful son has (thus) paid his homage to his ancestors who engendered him."'

After several groups, the mutilated state of which does not permit a continuous translation, the text continues—

'At the feast of the beginning of the (first) season, 50 bushels of dourra to his father Totun, and 645 bushels 20 pecks of dourra . . . . (to his father) Khnum.'

'At the feast of the commencement of the (second) season, 50 bushels of dourra (to Totun), and 425 bushels 20 pecks of dourra yearly to his father Khnum.'

'A bull at the new year to his father Totun.'

'A bull . . . .'

'A bull at the anniversary defeat of the Annu (mountaineers of Nubia), which happened the 21st Pharmuthi, to Totun.'

'At the feast of the commencement of the (third) year, 50 bushels of dourra to Totun, 204 bushels 15 pecks of dourra yearly to Khnum for the defeat of the "Nubian mountaineers."'

'Eight vestments of byssus stuff.'

'At the feast which happens in the month Pachons, a bull to his father Khnum, and 26 bushels of dourra yearly to the queen .... 26 bushels yearly to the queen Mersecher for the punishment of the nations, and 134 bushels and 10 pecks yearly to the King Usurtasen III.'

There are a great number of memorials and inscriptions which are dedicated to the memory of the third Usurtasen, or the officials, who in his reign devoted their knowledge and industry to the service of the king in the execution of public works or holy buildings. The inexhaustible quarries of Hammamat furnished, as usual, the materials for building, to which the master quarrymen, accompanied by thousands, proceeded to cut the stone. Active life then reigned in the so-called valley of Rohan, where inscriptions have faithfully preserved down to the present day the remembrance of these ancient writers and their worship of the great mountain god, Khem-Pan of Coptos.

We will quote a tablet on the rock of the fourteenth year of the reign of the king to lay before the reader an example of this kind of memorial inscription drawn

from these distant ages of Egyptian antiquity: 'In the year 14, the 18th day of the month Khoiakh, in the reign of King Usurtasen III., living for ever, who loves the god Khem-Hor, of the town of Coptos, behold that his holiness ordered the departure for the country of Rohan, for the execution of a monument consecrated by his holiness to the god Harshef, master of the town of Heracleopolis-Magna.' As on all such occasions, the official to whom the work was confided does not fail to let his remarkable services be known, and to recommend himself to posterity by the highest self-praise.

RA-N-MAAT, AMENEMHAT III.

one of the names of the succeeding king whose remembrance has been preserved less by the fame of successfully conducted wars than by works which have conferred the blessings of peace for more than twenty centuries; for he was the founder of the wonderful Mœris Lake, of whose vastness and utility the ancients are never tired of telling us, so full were they of praise for the construction itself and the constructor of this artificial sea.

The prosperity of Egypt in ancient times, as in our own day, has always depended on the fertility of the soil produced by the periodic inundations of the Nile. When they are kept within proper bounds, they spread blessings over a rich country. When the waters of the river rise above the height which is necessary to irrigate the country, they completely destroy the hopes of the labourers. When, on the contrary, the river is short of water at the epoch of the inundation, sterility

and famine are the consequence. It was necessary, therefore—and it has always been so at all epochs of Egyptian history—to observe beforehand and to regulate the inundations by artificial means, by the construction of dykes, sluices, and canals. As in our advanced times, the rise and increase of the Nile is telegraphed from Khartoum to Cairo, to warn the Government in time how to deal with the coming waters, and to make the necessary preparations for the approaching inundation; so in the time of King Amenemhat and his successors, the southernmost point of the empire—the newly-founded fortress at Semne—served as a point of observation of the rise and increase of the river. From this point a message went to the countries lying more southwards. On the rocks of Semne and Koomme, there was always marked the highest point of the flood for comparison, and the stroke marking it was accompanied by a corresponding inscription. Thus we read on one place on the rock, 'Height of the Nile in the fourteenth year of the reign of his holiness King Amenemhat III., living for ever.' In several examples of this kind we moreover meet with the titles and the names of the *employés* who, before the entry of the great waters into Egypt, were sent to examine the gradual increase of the river, and to take the necessary measures. A great number of indications of this kind, which M. Lepsius first collected during his stay in Nubia, permits us to assert a very remarkable fact, that at the epoch of the twelfth dynasty—that is, forty-three centuries before our days—the point of the greatest height was 8·17 mètres

above the greatest height which the inundation ever reaches in our day; and that the average height of the Nile under Amenemhat III. surpasses that of our times by more than seven mètres.

The great attention which this king bestowed upon this question of the rise of the Nile will be best proved by noticing the construction of the enormous basin which he caused to be dug by the hands of men in the modern province of the Fayoom for the reception and storage of the superfluous water of the inundation. This lake, so rich in fish, was protected by artistic dams on all sides, and had a communication with the river by a tunnel for water, and locks which were constructed for the influx or the complete shutting off of the water. The name of Mœris, which the Greek authors gave to this lake—a name in which they thought they could recognise the name of a king—was derived from the Egyptian appellation Meri, or Mi-uer, which means every kind of basin or lake. The Arab name Fayoom, given to the province of the ancient lake Mœris is explained by the older name Pha-joom, *i. e.* 'lake country.' For a long time it was supposed that this basin was the same as the Birket-el-keroon, a great natural lake to the west of the Fayoom, until, by his researches, M. Linant-Bey proved that the ancient lake Mœris was situated in the south-east part of the province of the Fayoum, where the depression of the ground and the ancient dykes exactly describe its site. At the epoch of the inundation the waters of the river entered by means of a canal into the lake, where locks retained them. At the time of the low waters, the

gates were opened to irrigate the great plains of the districts in the neighbourhood of the lake.

The same king was also the builder of the magnificent palace known under the name of the Labyrinth, near the aqueduct of the Lake Mœris, as well as of the pyramid which was not far from this edifice. The wonderful structure of the Labyrinth, which is entirely ignored on the Egyptian monuments, consisted, according to Herodotus, of three thousand halls and chambers, half above the soil, and the same number underneath it, with twelve covered courts, the entrances of which were opposite to each other. According to Strabo, the Labyrinth was like a small representation of the whole kingdom, composed of as many palaces as there were nomes, namely, twenty-seven. The description of the whole place, in which Strabo mentions the enormous mass of blocks of stone, makes it appear as a most astonishing work, of which, I may add at once, at this day only a small number of ruins remain. Blocks of stone, covered with traces of the names of Amenemhat III., and of the queen who followed him, Sebeknofru, are all that remain near the pyramid of Ellahoon as the last farewell greeting to us of the once celebrated Egyptian Labyrinth.

The province which anciently contained Lake Mœris has not had the good luck to be frequently mentioned in the texts engraved on the walls of the Egyptian sanctuaries. They hated it, and they hated its inhabitants, because of the worship with which they honoured the god Sebek, the tutelary divinity of this region, and the crocodile, his sacred animal. This last

being for the adorers of Osiris, one of the forms of the god Set, the Satan of the Egyptian mythology, we can very well explain the singular circumstance that, in the list of nomes, the province of Lake Mœris is struck out as hostile to Osiris. Thus it is that we know nothing of the Labyrinth, or the pyramid, or the towns, nor the worship of the neighbourhood of this lake. This want is very happily filled up by the discovery of a papyrus which relates to the geography of Lake Mœris, although in one sense it is far removed from geographical instruction. The manuscript, at present preserved in the Museum of Boolak, represents the plan of the basin, with its canal. Around the basin the author of the drawing has marked a certain number of towns and sanctuaries, accompanied by explanatory texts, which contain very precious information for a knowledge of the various places, and the worship of the divinities on the borders of the basin. Thanks to these indications, we are enabled clearly to ascertain the different names of the lake. It is sometimes called She, *i.e.* 'the basin or lake;' sometimes She-uer, 'the large lake basin;' sometimes Mi-uer (Mœris!), 'the great lake.' From the most universal name, She, the country was called Ta-She, 'the country of the lake,' of which the arab-copt word Fayoom is an accurate translation. Another appellation of the lake, including the tombs, is the following: Hunt, 'the water-dam,' a common expression, which was used in the list of names for the great basin in the back part of each district. The place at which the canal, coming from the Nile, entered into the valley of the great chain of mountains

of the Fayoom, was called Ape-tash—*i. e.* the defile of the country of the lake. Here was the opening of the sluice of the canal—the Ra-hunt or La-hunt, from which word certainly comes the modern name of the place Ellahoon, with the Arab article el before Lahoont. The same word is no doubt hidden in the Greek appellation of Labyrinth, which by the mouth of the Egyptians would have been pronounced Rape-ro-hunt, or Lape-ro-hunt, that is, 'the temple at the flood-gate of the canal.'

From the canal, in a straight direction westwards, we arrive at the capital of the old 'country of the lake,' in which the kings of the twelfth dynasty, in eager competiton with one another, founded temples, and raised stone obelisks to the god Sebek, with the head of a crocodile and his whole family of gods, Amonao, Hershef, Sokar, Hor, and others. In the neighbourhood the chief place of the Fayoum, the so-called Medinet-el-Fayoom, which means 'chief city of the Fayoom,' bore, in ancient times, the name of Shat (with an uncertain meaning—cutting, cutting right through, well, canal), or Pi-Sebek, *i.e.* the dwelling of Sebek; whence, in a corresponding manner, the Greeks called it Crocodilopolis, or 'the city of the crocodile:' for, as Strabo rightly remarks, 'in this country the crocodile was much venerated.' An animal, carefully chosen, with the name Suchos (that is Sebek, Subek with the Greek ending -os added), was kept there in a lake, and fed by visitors.

The large stones which were used for the construction of the monuments mentioned above were

drawn from the quarries of the valley of Hammamat. The texts sculptured on the rocks of these quarries make this fact incontestible. Thus it was that, in the second year of the reign of Amenemhat III., a personage of distinction, bearing the same name as the king, arrived there, with his men, to cause the works to be executed with which they were charged. In an inscription of fourteen lines he vaunts the greatness of his king, 'who had beaten the negroes and opened the world.' According to another text, dated in the year 9, the king went personally into the valley of Rohan, to give orders relating to the construction of monuments in the town of Crocodilopolis, among which is mentioned a statue of the king (seated), of five cubits in height. The continuation of the inscription relates that it was a certain Usurtasen who had the charge of superintending the works. Other texts engraved on the rock state the same fact. The Pharaoh sent on several occasions architects to Rohan to cause stones to be cut out which were used by the sculptors to execute the statues and other works.

The memory of Amenemhat III. is further preserved in several inscriptions engraved on the rocks of the peninsula of Sinai, the mines and quarries of which were worked in the earliest times of Egyptian history. They are dated in different years, from 2 to 42, of his reign, and furnish us with a proof that the Egyptians kept up establishments in these desolate regions which were very melancholy to inhabit for a prolonged stay.

The principal envoys of the king, the treasurers, artists, officials of the quarrymen, and other similar

persons, who had any share whatever in carrying out the commands of the Pharaoh, never left their places without perpetuating on the rock the remembrance of their stay. Each writes his title, his name, and all his family, and invokes the gods of the place, and before all the divine Hathor, 'the lady of the Mafkat land,' Supt Hor, 'the lord of the East,' and the very ancient local god of the peninsula of Sinai, king Senofru, who had become almost fabulous.

In an inscription of the second year of the king, on a rock tablet at the entrance of Wady Magharah, in which a picture of Amenemhat III. as king of Lower Egypt, appears standing before the deities we have mentioned, there is express mention of sending away Mafkat, or turquoises, and Khomet or copper. To what the number 736 relates which is written by the side is uncertain.

I have already pointed out, that the kings of the twelfth dynasty with remarkable zeal set themselves to venerate Osiris and to maintain his temple in Abydos. The fullest testimony to this fact is borne by a monumental stone discovered last year in the cemetery of Abydos, to a certain Sehotep-ab-ra, who was there buried, and who during his life under the reigns of the kings Usurtasen III. and Amenemhat III. was charged to take care of the temple and the worship of the god 'Osiris in the West,' and the jackal-headed guardian of the dead Apheru. As is proved by the immense number of 163 inscriptions with which the stone now exhibited in the museum at Boolak is covered, Sehotep-ab-ra had received the commission to attend to the

service of the mysterious places in the temple of Abydos, to regulate the feasts of the God, to superintend the priests, and in his especial province as a skilful artist to build the holy Temple-bark, and cover it with ornamental painting. In chosen but very difficult language, rich in poetical turns and uncommon words, the dead declares himself a master of worldly wisdom. He introduces his expressions rich in meaning with the words, 'I say a great thing; listen! I will teach you the nature of eternity,' and he ends his wise remarks with the usual requisition to survivors to visit his grave and to repeat the prayer of the sacrifices of the dead: 'You priests of Osiris in the West in the town of Abydos, you temple servants of the same God, you priests of the king Amenemhat III. the eternal and ever living, and of king Usurtasen III. the defunct, and you temple servants of the same (kings), you inhabitants of this town and every one in the nome of Tinis, who will visit this grave, going away or coming, may you love your king, may you prize the gods of your country, and then will your children sit in your seat. You who enjoy life and do not yet know death, repeat the prayer of the offerings of the dead for the name of (here follow his titles) Sehotep-ab-ra.'

AMENEMHAT IV. AND QUEEN SEBEK-NOFRU-RA.

These sovereigns finish the twelfth dynasty, but the monuments fail to give us any important information about the history of the king and his sister queen Sebek-nofru-ra. This last was an heiress as the princess Nitaker

was at the end of the sixth and Nofertari at the end of the seventeenth dynasty.* The succession to the empire went by marriage to a new race, with which we shall be more particularly occupied when we come to consider the thirteenth dynasty. The word Sebek, which is in the name of the Queen, reminds us again of the god of the Fayoom or 'country of the Lake,' which by the works of Amenemhat III. had become of such great importance for Egypt.

We cannot bid adieu to this remarkable period in the Egyptian empire without casting a glance on the great events, which so visibly distinguish the middle empire at its entry into the world.

Under the reign of the royal family which composes this dynasty the frontiers of Egypt were extended towards the south, as far as the second cataract. Above this were placed the two fortresses of Semne and Koomme, and formed the frontier, near the negro lands Heh and Akin. The domination of the Egyptian sceptre was vigorously maintained in the peninsula of Sinai. Officials of the king, supported by a large military force, maintained the Pharaonic sovereignty in the mountains of the land of Mafkat.

The Egyptians of this epoch kept up also a very active commerce with the tribes of Libya towards the east, and with the inhabitants of Palestine and the neighbouring countries. The arrival in Egypt of representatives of these nations is a fact which is proved by numerous paintings and inscriptions in the

mortuary chapels. The light-coloured Libyans frequented Egypt to show their address in warlike games and dances. The dark-coloured inhabitants of Kush flocked there to serve the great lords, and Asiatics presented themselves at the frontier of Lower Egypt, which was secured by fortresses against an entrance without permission, or unexpected attack, to ask for permission to traffic on the banks of the Nile. The Egyptian empire appeared at that time as the centre of civilisation, and of all progress in intellect, in art, and in trade. This had a great effect on strangers, and led the neighbouring nations to look upon the Egyptians as an important and cultivated nation. In fact such an opinion of Egypt was well founded and justly deserved. Intellectual life developed itself fully. They strove after moral ennoblement; schools were established in the principal towns of the country; and human and divine wisdom was taught in the assemblages of the holy servants of the gods. The natural conditions of the country were improved by the constructions which served to regulate the periodic inundations of the Nile. The territory of the entire country was divided into districts, and engraved stones, fixed as limits, separated neighbouring properties. Written lists, which were laid up in the royal house, gave information on the superficies, the boundaries, and water supply of each nome. The kings constructed temples and raised monuments 'to their name,' in honour of the divinities, and in memory of their own persons; they continued to build pyramids as tombs, and the great personages of the court, most of them allies of the

king, prepared their graves in the deepest pits in the mountains, and placed halls of sacrifice and chambers over the grave, in which all the art and splendour of the sculptors and the painters of those times were developed. In these by means of excessively rich inscriptions in the decorated rock-hewn halls, the different branches of human industry were represented with the most lively treatment, and in infinite detail, for the information of future generations and for the enjoyment of cotemporaries who still breathed in the light of the sun. They worked with tools unknown to us the precious quarries which existed in the valley of Hamamat; they drew the rose and the black granite from the 'red mountain,' near Assouan; they brought back the produce of gold from the parched deserts of Nubia, and worked the mineral riches of the peninsula of Sinai, to gain precious turquoises and useful copper.

At this epoch the centre of gravity of Egyptian administration was placed in Middle Egypt. Two towns of that territory, Crocodilopolis, the town of Sebek on the shores of lake Mœris, and Heracleopolis 'the great,' whose position is indicated in our day by the site of the Arab town of Ahnas, rapidly rose to an importance of which we can only judge by their remains and by the information of the monuments. Art, in different directions of activity, had arrived at a height of perfection, the chief character of which we cannot better describe than in reproducing the sagacious judgment of M. de Rougé, a master in our science, who was too soon taken from us.

'Long generations,' says this learned Academician,

'the precise dates of which we cannot fix, saw different phases in Egyptian art succeed each other. Our museums contain sufficient specimens to enable us to follow the principal transformations. We know not the commencement of this art; we find it existing from the monuments of the fourth dynasty. These, the first to which we can assign a certain rank, are extremely advanced in many respects. Architecture already shows us an inconceivable perfection in the cutting and placing of blocks of great dimensions. The passages of the great pyramid remain a model of exactness of building, which has never been surpassed. We are obliged to guess the exterior style of the temples of this first epoch, and to restore it from the bas-reliefs of the tombs, and the decoration of the sarcophagi. The style was simple and noble in the highest degree; the straight line and the play of the different levels of the outline were the only elements of decoration. One sole motive of ornament varies these dispositions; it was composed of two lotus leaves placed opposite to each other.

'The style of the figures, as well in the statues as in the bas-reliefs, of the earliest times is distinguished by a broad and squat appearance; it seems that in the course of centuries the race became thinner and more *élancé* from the action of the climate. In the primitive monuments they sought the imitation of nature with more simplicity, and keeping all due proportion. In the execution of the single parts, the muscles especially are always better placed, and indicated more strongly.

'The figures preserved this character till near the end of the twelfth dynasty. This is the epoch when

they took slenderer and thinner forms. Architecture had then made great progress. With regard to ornamentation, we find under the seventeenth dynasty the first columns which have been preserved to our days in Egypt; thick, fluted, and covered with a simple top piece in the shape of a die. They resemble in a striking manner the first Doric columns.

'The bas-reliefs, devoid of all perspective, are often in the first empire of extreme delicacy. They were always coloured with care. There are some in which the freedom of the attitudes and the truth of the movements seem to promise to Egyptian art a destiny very different from that which was reserved to it in later centuries. The limestone statues were often entirely painted; the figures of granite were coloured in some of their parts, as the eyes, hair, and drapery. The *chef d'œuvre* of the art of the first empire is a colossal leg of black granite, from the statue of King Usurtasen I., belonging to the Museum of Berlin, discovered in the ruins in a town of Lower Egypt, Tanis. This fragment suffices to prove that the first Egyptian school was in a better way of art than that of the second empire. The engraving of the sculptures leaves nothing to be desired in these first Egyptian monuments. It is generally executed in relief up to the fifth dynasty. The engraving in intaglio of the twelfth dynasty has never been surpassed at any epoch. The obelisks of Heliopolis and of the Fayoom authorise us to suppose temples of a grandeur and magnificence equal to these fine remains of the twelfth dynasty. We know, in fact, that one of the wonders of the world, the labyrinth

of the Fayoom, was constructed by one of these kings.'

Such are the striking observations on this subject by a master hand, and I will only venture to add a few remarks on the actual authors of those works. There is in all art histories of ancient and modern times, without excepting the most recent, constantly a depreciatory judgment given on the artists of those old days, who, when viewed most favourably, are placed on the same line with skilful mechanics. We cannot too strongly protest against such a judgment, arising from a complete ignorance of the inmost essence of Egyptian art, or from shallowness and a superficial way of looking at it, which ought not to be presumed to exist in judges of art. Egyptian art is art in the noblest meaning of the word. Let anyone look at the lifelike heads of the statues of Meidoom, the so-called Sheikh-el-Belled, of King Khephren, and the Pharaohs of the new empire, and maintain the contrary. But it is Egyptian art, that is to say, it is bound by fetters which the artist dared not loosen for fear of clashing with traditional directions and ancient usage. There floated before the Egyptian artists as well as the masters in the old history of Greek art higher ideals than the censurers brought up in 'the Greek school' alone dreamt of. In this respect we agree, with the fullest conviction, in the workmanlike explanation and critique with which Lepsius, in his suggestive work 'On some Egyptian Art-forms and their Development,' has met these depreciatory judges of Egyptian art.

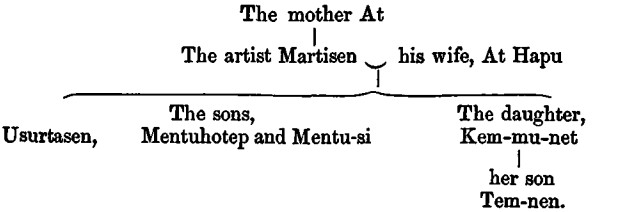
Attention has sometimes been called, in order to

designate the so-called mechanical style of Egyptian art, to the remarkable fact that history has not transmitted to us the names of any Egyptian masters. This is correct for those who are ignorant of the contents of Egyptian inscriptions, and hence do not know that the artist was the most honoured man in the empire, and stood close to the Pharaoh, who poured his favours in a full stream on the man of 'enlightened spirit and skilful hand.' The artists themselves relate this to us, and boast of their works and the means for creating them, which reflection and inventive genius had delivered to them. To make mention of an example, let us remember the words on the tomb and memorial stone[1] of an old Egyptian master, named Martisen, who lived in the days of King Neb-kheru-ra Mentu-hotep;[2] that is to say, forty-four centuries before our time, and who thought and worked as an artist. He calls himself 'a master among those who understand art, and a plastic artist,' who "was a wise artist in his art.' He relates in succession his knowledge in the making of statues, in every position, according to prescribed use and measure; and brings forward, as his particular invention, an etching with colours, if I have rightly understood the expression, 'which can neither be injured by fire nor washed off by water;' and, as a further explanation of this, states that 'no man has arisen who has been able to do this, except himself alone and the eldest son of his race, whom God's will has created. He has arisen able to

[1] In the Louvre, exhibited C. 14.

[2] Compare vol. i. p. 135.

do this, and the exercise of his hand has been admired in masterly works in all sorts of precious stones, from gold and silver, to ivory and ebony.' His son bore the name Usurtasen, and belonged to an artistic family, whose pedigree, according to the stone, is as follows:—



Martisen and his son Usurtasen, without any doubt, opened the age of the highest art development in the old empire, under the kings of the twelfth dynasty, whose taste for art the monuments of their day clearly demonstrate. It will be for future generations to read from the inscriptions the succession of artists and their families who contributed to this high state, and to enumerate their performances. For the purpose of knowing this particular branch of human activity, certain gaps require to be filled up, so that we of the present day must renounce the task of fully comprehending it. But science must not be a silent witness of those unintelligible complaints which are raised against the essential character of Egyptian art; she must loudly raise her voice, and point out that even the dead stones speak to us with living voice. Honour, therefore, to the most ancient art, honour to the first artists, whom we have principally to thank for the legacy which has been bequeathed to us of the youthful history of humanity.

CHAPTER X.

THE THIRTEENTH DYNASTY.

HERE we find very imperfect remains wherever we look. For the hope with which we left the times of the Amenemhâts and Usurtasens, and turned our watchful and expectant gaze with joy to the next period of the history of the Egyptian empire and its wide-extending development, is dashed through the want of monuments. The table of the kings of Abydos passes with a sudden leap over this broad chasm, which stretches from the twelfth to the eighteenth dynasty, since it ranges the first king of the latter dynasty after the princess Sebek-nofru-ra. The traditions of the ancients, starting from the historical information in the Manethonian works upon the period of which we are treating, present us error and confusion instead of truth and clearness. The often-mentioned and priceless treasure of the canon of the Turin papyrus would be the only source which could serve us as a guide in this dark labyrinth; but a glance at the pieces of it which contain the list of the kings of the thirteenth house shows us at once the frightful gaps in the mutilated and tattered papyrus. Fate has done everything to place difficulties in the

way of the solution of this question, and the hard task is laid on human intelligence to collect the slight sparks for kindling a light which may illumine the darkness of five hundred years. With what active zeal has science endeavoured to fill up the huge gaps! How has she sought after a firm point, which might serve her as a sure basis! All has been in vain, and only the hope remains, to gain from hidden undiscovered memorials the solution of the riddle.

All that our endeavours have as yet succeeded in obtaining is limited to the well-grounded belief, that long after the conclusion of the twelfth dynasty native kings enjoyed unlimited sway in the land, until new lords, of foreign origin, seated in the eastern parts of the Egyptian low lands, gradually drove back the old race of kings, and established the right of conquest over the real heirs of the throne.

Before relating a history of these foreign conquerors from Manetho, we will give the succession of the dynasties, the number of the kings, and the time of their total duration from Manethonian sources, and on the authority of the last and newest researches of special inquirers:—

13th	dynasty of	Thebes,	60	kings,	453 years.
14th	„	Xois,	76	„	484 „
15th	„	Hycsos,	6	„	260 „
16th	„	Hycsos,	?	„	251 „
17th	„	Thebes,	?	„	? „

Without stopping to examine the figures which easily lend themselves to all the chronological systems which might be formed to reconstruct the canon of Manetho,

science would not be much mistaken in arranging the above-mentioned series and their periods of duration in the following collateral branches:—

Legitimate Kings of Theban Race.

13th dynasty, 60 kings, 453 years.
17th dynasty ? „ ? „

Opposition Kings of Xois.

14th dynasty of Xoïs, 76 kings, 484 years.

Foreign Conquerors.

15th dynasty of Hycsos, 6 kings, 260 years.
16th „ ? ? „ 251 „

A glance at the mutilated fragments of the royal canon of Turin will convince the reader that the five last columns of the once complete work were consecrated to the memory of kings who undoubtedly belonged to the preceding dynasties. One may reckon their total number in this MS. at (5 × 30), 150 but it is evident that the genealogical calculation could not be applied to fix approximatively the duration of their reign according to human generations. The figures which have been preserved in the canon, and which served to indicate the years of the reign of each of the kings of whom we have spoken, rarely surpass the number of three or four. It is almost certain therefore, that the history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and murders and assassinations, by which the life and length of reign of the princes was not subjected to the

ordinary conditions of human existence. These were times about which Ramses III. remarks, in the so-called 'Harris Papyrus,' in the British Museum, that 'the land of Kem was in the hands of the princes of the towns of the foreigners, of whom one neighbour killed another.'

As we have remarked above, it is incontestable that the kings who immediately followed the twelfth dynasty were still in full possession of Upper and Lower Egypt. For a long time the opinion was prevalent that the thirteenth dynasty marked an epoch when foreigners made an invasion, so that Lower Egypt, or at least the eastern part of the lower country, was under the dominion of foreign kings. To this must be opposed the well-established fact that many kings of the thirteenth dynasty, and not only those who were first in order of time, enjoyed perfect quiet in the Delta on the east side, and were occupied in erecting monuments, the remains of which have been preserved to our day, and whose size and kind do not point to their having been hastily constructed. In the days of their authors and their origin peaceful times must have prevailed, and nothing looks like a foreign occupation by the side of native kings. Among these monuments especially belong the wonderful stones and 'statues' in the fields of Tanis, the biblical Zoan, which was situated quite close to the territory occupied afterwards by the so-called kings of the Hycsos, who here placed their camps and planned their hostile invasions into the neighbouring region of the low lands, and into the countries of Upper Egypt. This

sudden attack of the foreigners must have taken place towards the end of the thirteenth dynasty.

In the lists of Manetho, such as they exist in our day, the names of the kings of the thirteenth dynasty are passed by in obstinate silence, as if they were judged unworthy of historic recollection. The canon of Turin supplies in some sort this lacuna, and fortunately the remaining fragments of the papyrus are just sufficient to establish a few of the most important names of the Pharaohs belonging to this dynasty. According to a custom which we very often find in the monumental lists, the canon of Turin only informs us of the official names of the kings, and in particular cases alone the family name appears in the inside of the royal cartouche.

Nevertheless, thanks to the indications of the monuments of the epoch, which furnish the double Pharaonic names, we are sufficiently informed to be able to state that the greater number of the kings of this family bore the name of Sebek-hotep. The monuments have as yet enabled us to recognise seven princes of the name of Sebek-hotep. In spite of the Theban origin of the royal house which we are considering, the frequent occurrence of the name of Sebek-hotep, 'servants of Sebek,' shows unmistakably that the Pharaohs of the thirteenth dynasty specially venerated the god with the head of a crocodile, Sebek, the same to whom the kings of the preceding dynasty had built a very solid temple in the centre of the Fayoom, and in the neighbourhood of the famous lake Mœris. There was then an intimate connection between the two royal houses of the twelfth and thir-

teenth dynasties, and we may suppose that Queen Sebek-nofru-ra, the heiress of the twelfth dynasty, had transmitted the worship of the god Sebek to her son—for as such we must recognise him—whom the Canon of Turin places at the head of the thirteenth dynasty, and designates by the name Ra-Khu-taui, that is to say, 'the protecting Sun of the land.' His name appears not only at this time, but henceforward continually until the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty.

By following the fragments of the papyrus of Turin which have been preserved, we are able to prepare the following table of the kings who succeeded Sebekhotep I. These Pharaohs belong to the thirteenth dynasty, which, according to Manetho, as we have said, was composed of the number of sixty kings. It is possible that Manetho made a choice out of a greater number of kings, who, at any rate, are certified to us on the authority of the papyrus.

The Thirteenth Dynasty according to the Turin Papyrus.

1. Ra-Khu-taui (Sebekhotep I).
2. Sokhemkara.
3. Ra Amenemhat I.
4. Sehotepabra I.
5. Aufui.
6. Sankhabra.
7. Smenkara.
8. Sehotepabra II.
9. . . . . kara.
10. (one or two names disappeared).
11. Notemabra.
12. Ra Sebekhotep II.
13. Ran-[sen]-eb.

14. Autuabra I.
15. Setef- . . . . ra.
16. Ra-Sokhemchutaui (Sebekhotep III).
17. Rauser. . . . . .
18. Smonkhkara Mermesha.
19. . . . . kara.
20. . . . . user-Ser.
21. Ra Sokhem-(suttaui) Sebekhotep IV.
22. Khasesheshra Noferhotep, son of a certain Haankhef.
23. Ra Sahathor.
24. Khanoferra Sebekhotep V.
25. (Khakara ?).
26. Khaanchra (Sebekhotep VI.).
27. Khahotepra (Sebekhotep VII.). 4 y. 8 m. 29 d.
28. Uahabra Aaab, '10 y. 8 m. 18 d.
29. Mernoferra Ai, '13 y. 8 m. 18 d.'
30. Merhotepra, ' 2 y. 2 m. 9 d.'
31. Sankhnefra Utu, ' 3 y. 2 m. ? d.'
32. Mersokhemra Anran, ' 3 y. 1 m. ? d.'
33. Sutkara . . . . . ura, '5 ? y. ? m. 8 d.'
34. Anemem . . . . . ro.
35–43. (9 or 10 names destroyed.)
44. Merkhoperra.
45. Merka (ra.)
46-50. (destroyed)
51. . . . . mes.
52. Ra . . . . . maat Aba.
53. . . . . Ra-Uben I.
54-57. (destroyed)
58. Nahasi-(ra), 0 y. ? m. 3 d.
59. Khakherura, ? y. ? m. 3 d.
60. Nebef-autura, 2 y. 5 m. 15 d.
61. Sehibra, 3 y. ? m. ? d.
62. Mertefara, 3 y. ? m. ? d.
63. Sutkara, 1 y. ? m. ? d.
64. Nebtefara, 1 y. ? m. ? d.
65. Ra-Uben II., 0 y. ? m. ? d.
66-67. (two names destroyed).
68. . . . . tefara.
69. . . . . Ra Uben (III.).

70. Autuabra (II.).
71. Herabra.
72. Nebsenra.
73-76. (names destroyed.)
77. Sekhoperenra.
78. Tutkherura.
79. Sankh(ka)ra.
80. Nofertum . . . . . ra.
81. Sokhem . . . . . ra.
82. Ka . . . . . ra.
83. Noferabra.
84. Ra . . . . .
85. Rakha.
86. Nutkara.
87. Smen . . . . .

About sixty other names complete the list, which fills the two last pages of the roll. Most unfortunately almost all the names on these pages are in such a state of destruction, and so broken into bits, that no approximate conjecture—and still less any suitable comparison—can be given of them. Only one peculiarity can be stated, that they seem sometimes to begin with the word Sokhem, and sometimes with the character meaning User.

To the names, which manifestly belong to a destroyed place in the table mentioned above, I reckon another, Sebek-hotep VI., who was more particularly designated in the official cartouche by the name Khaanchra, and whom I have arranged in his proper place by the help of the list of the king's ancestors in the chamber of Karnak.

If we now question the monuments about the previous history of the king's cartouches in this long barren list, they very seldom satisfy our curiosity with

any valuable results. But just on this account, because the number of contemporary witnesses of this most obscure of all divisions of the history of the Egyptian empire is so limited, does their worth increase in the eyes of the inquirer, and their importance for arriving at a judgment on the dominion of the Hycsos becomes evidently almost priceless. In the following remarks we will call attention to the most important monuments of the thirteenth dynasty according to their sequence in point of time.

The appended genealogical table,[1] compiled with the assistance of a number of inscriptions containing accounts of families, will give the reader an idea of the descent of individual kings from persons not of royal origin, as also of their entrance into the circle of Pharaonic parentage by marriages with the daughters of kings. The queen Nubkhas (IV. race) furnishes a very important and instructive example.

Among the sources of information which the monuments have preserved for us concerning individual kings of this period, the inscriptions appear to us especially worthy of notice which exist at the most northern and most southern points of the Nubian country; in the one case on the rocky island at the first cataract in the neighbourhood of Philæ; in the other case, on the stormy shores of Semne and Koomme above the second cataract. Sebekhotep III. did not fail, like his predecessor of the twelfth dynasty, to leave engraved a record of the highest point to which the overflow of the Nile reached in his day. We possess

[1] See the annexed table.

four different accounts of this sort; that of the third year of his reign announces simply, 'Height of the Nile in the third year of the reign of King Sebekhotep III., living for ever.' Ranseneb, a distinguished courtier and commander of the armed forces in the fortress of Sokhem-khakaura, founded by King Usurtasen III., administered in those days the southern portion of the newly-conquered country, and in this capacity possessed the right to place his own name by the side of his royal lord.

The eighteenth king of the list, Smonkhkara, with the family name, Mermesha (perhaps it was also read Mermenfiu), claims especial attention from the fact that in the excavations of the field of ruins at Tanis two monuments came to light, statues of this king of colossal size, and wonderfully perfect in the execution of the individual parts. The names of the king are clearly legible in the middle column of the inscription. Both statues were once placed in the great temple of Patah, in Tanis, as witnesses of the undiminished strength of Mermesha. The chief of the Hycsos Apepi, no less than Ramses II., who lived 400 years later, immortalised themselves by cutting their own names on the monument of this king, as if Mermesha enjoyed, in their estimation, especial favour or respect. His name, Mermesha—or however people preferred to pronounce the last part of the name—meant the 'leader of armies,' or 'captain of warriors.' Without wishing to treat such a designation as a probable indication of a troublous and warlike period, we may, on the contrary, show that it had relation to a very

peaceful office, for the high-priest of the temple of Mendes (called in our time, Tmai-al-amdid), in the Egyptian delta, had the same designation as the old Pharaoh of the thirteenth dynasty.

The son also of Mentuhotep, King Sebekhotep IV., must also have been in full possession of the low lands of the valley of the Nile; for his statues, executed in granite, had assumed a place of honour in Tanis, which is proof enough for us that neither this town (which was afterwards called Ramses) nor the country lying around it to the east was possessed by enemies. This fact appears clear from the discovery of a statue of the fifth Sebekhotep at Bubastus, whose memorial was also preserved far away to the south, beyond the boundary of Semne and Koomme by another column on the island of Argo. The power of the kings of the thirteenth dynasty was therefore reduced neither in the south nor in the north of the empire, since the traces of their power and their consideration cannot be more evidently proved than by monuments such as we have described. The monuments of the same kings were also unmistakably preserved in the interior parts of Egypt. Thebes, Abydos, and the valley of rocks of Hammamat are rich in written proofs of the undiminished power of the Egyptian empire, and the collections of Europe contain a selection of the monumental remains of this thirteenth dynasty. I will mention before all others the memorial-stone of granite at Leyden, which the sixth Sebekhotep, with the official name Khaanchra, dedicated in honour of the god of Panopolis, Khemhor-nekht.

The kings who, in our list, begin with Sebekhotep III., and finish with the seventh Sebekhotep (Nos. 16—27), and who in the appended table of families are partly connected with the most distinguished races of the country, seem especially to have formed a separate group of powerful princes of the thirteenth dynasty. As proof of this, the much discussed, but little understood representation in the Chamber of Karnak may be mentioned. It is well known that this relates to a succession, or rather a selection, of kings, who found a place in a hall devoted to them in the time of the third Thutmosis, an especial venerator of his forefathers. The right side of the general representation shows us the pictures and the names of the Theban princes of the thirteenth dynasty, but, as we said, only in a selection, the meaning and spirit of which is at once evident. The four ranks of the kings in order follow one another in the first and second steps of the series.

Table of the Chamber at Karnak compared with the Papyrus of Turin.

1. . . . ka.		
2. Sut-en-ra.		
3. Sankhabra . . .	No. 6.	Sanchabra.
4. Ra-Sokhemkhutaui . .	„ 16.	Sebekhotep III.
5. Ra-Sokhemsuttaui . .	„ 21.	Sebekhotep IV.
6. Khasesheshra . .	„ 22.	Noferhotep.
7. Khanoferra . . .	„ 24.	Sebekhotep V.
8. Khakara . . .	„ 25.	(destroyed.)
9. Khaankhra (Sebekhotep VI.)	„ 26.	(destroyed, Sebekhotep VI.)
10. Khahotepra . . .	„ 27.	Sebekhotep VII.

At the first glance the motive of the choice of the kings must appear, since they are the powerful Sebekhoteps, of whom almost alone the monuments have remained to us as the last witnesses of their deeds. The table of Karnac shows us also in a further continuation a list of other royal names, whose importance is proved by contemporary monuments, while the other names, only mentioned in the papyrus, are wholly passed over, as those of undistinguished and unimportant petty kings. To the second group of distinguished princes of the thirteenth dynasty belongs, according to the guidance of the chamber of Karnac, Mer-kau-ra, the same who in the papyrus (No. 45) appears in the mutilated form Merka (ra). He is the Pharaoh called Meri-ka-ra on the rock-tomb chamber of a certain Tefab, son of Kheti, in the steep hillside behind the modern town of Ossiut, which stands on the site of the old ruined capital of the thirteenth nome Saut or Siaut, the Lycopolis, that is the Wolftown, of the Greeks. Tefab, according to the contents of the inscriptions of his grave, was the governor of the country of the south (Kama). Although the holy writing, which gives us information of his life and doings, is in a melancholy state of destruction, yet from the part which has been preserved, it may be stated with perfect confidence, that the former inhabitant of the tomb was commissioned during his lifetime by the Hak taui, 'the prince of the two worlds,' to carry out works by which the temple of the god Anubis, the protecting god of the before-mentioned town, was increased and embellished. I will not omi this opportunity of mentioning that the same inscrip-

tion contains some indications which allow us to infer warlike events in the countries of Upper Egypt.

The tombs of Lycopolis—as many of them as are furnished with representations and explanatory notices (unfortunately the number of these diminishes from year to year)—show all of them a common origin, which points to the times of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties. The choice of expressions, the manner of the narratives, and particularly the dignities and offices, answer throughout to the conditions which this origin would require. Of great importance, but unfortunately too little investigated, is the rock-tomb chamber celebrated through the length and breadth of the land, and which goes under the name of the stable of Antar (we might call it the stable of Roland, for the hero Antar has a similar meaning with the Arabs as the Paladin in the legend of the German Charlemagne has with us). The former tenant of this tomb was a high-priest of Anubis, or as the same god seems generally to have been called, of 'Apheru, the lord of Lycopolis.' Besides his dignity of high-priest, Hapzefa (a son of Ai), for so the defunct was called, enjoyed a number of offices at the royal court, which at the command of the king carried him as far as Elephantina.

The interior wall—the one turned towards the entrance—in the hall of the tomb contains, in its darkened height, a long and tolerably preserved inscription, the contents of which are of particular importance on several accounts. After the titles and offices of the defunct have been set forth, he sings the well-known song of his own praises and his own worth,

and calls attention to the way in which he had fulfilled his duties towards gods and men. Then he begs the future priestly guardian and preserver of his grave to care for him, the defunct, as he in his lifetime had cared for the deities of the town Siaut-Lycopolis. He takes this opportunity of fixing the kind and number of the sacrifices, he speaks of the feast-days on which they should be offered, and gives for the first time in an Egyptian inscription a proof that the ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley, great and small, were accustomed to dedicate the first-fruits of their harvest to the deity, just in the same manner as each Israelite, rich and poor, was bound to do. The feasts named in this Egyptian inscription took place at the end and at the beginning of the year, from the last day of the year (or the fifth intercalatory day) to the feast called Uak, which was wont to be celebrated on the eighteenth day of the month Thot.

As the greater number of the tombs of Lycopolis must have belonged, without doubt, to the times of the thirteenth dynasty, so also the testimony of the inscriptions which adorn the walls of the rock-chambers and tombs of El-Kab (the old Eileithyiapolis) points to the same period. Not taking into account that there is the same style and choice of expressions, and that there is present a cartouche of a Sebekhotep (with the official name Ra-Sokhem-sut-taui) in one of the tombs of this place, whose former tenant bore the name of Sebek-nekht, before all things else, the proper names which belonged to the dead, point with certainty in

the most unmistakable manner to the period of the thirteenth dynasty.

The moment is not distant when we shall have the opportunity of giving ample consideration to the old tenants of these tombs, and of speaking of the fortified city, which once stood on the ground of the present El-Kab. Even now the four corners of the remains of the walls of the town, built in sunburnt bricks, are to be seen, and bear witness to the real existence of the fortress, in which Aahmes, one of the brave champions in the war of the Egyptians against foreign kings, first saw the light.

CHAPTER XI.

SEMITES AND EGYPTIANS.

We have already remarked that, according to the testimony of the Turin book of the kings, the reigns of the rulers, who towards the end of the thirteenth dynasty occupied the throne, must have been of comparatively short duration, since they scarcely lasted on an average for four years. The cause of such a striking fact must be sought in internal troubles in the empire, in civil wars and struggles of individual occupants of the throne, who interrupted the regular succession, and made the existence of collateral dynasties very probable. Next to the kings of the thirteenth dynasty of Theban or Upper Egyptian origin, there appeared 76 Pharaohs, who according to the Manethonian account had fixed their royal abode in the Lower Egyptian town Sakhau, or Khasau, called by the Greeks Xoïs. This internal discord, caused by the ambitious plans of the possessors of power in Upper and Lower Egypt, gives us on the one hand the explanation of the long silence of the contemporary monuments, and on the other hand a key to the full understanding of the success of the warlike invasion, which brought a foreign race into Egypt, who would never

have dared to oppose the armed powers of the united empire of Kemi.

Before we undertake to cast a glance at the time of the foreign dominion mentioned above, during which the race of the old native kings had sunk to the position of simple haks, or governors, or sub-kings, it seems to us to be profitable, and even necessary to examine more particularly the countries which were to be the future scenes of these events, and before all things to direct our particular attention to the population of those regions.

Beginning first with the Egyptian low lands, it can scarcely excite surprise if we consider the inhabitants settled between the branches of the Nile to have been for the most part of pure Egyptian race. The boundary of demarcation, which separated this race from the neighbouring peoples, was on the west the so-called Canopic branch of the Nile, as the Pelusiac branch was the boundary in the opposite direction to the east. The inhabitants of the western or Lybian neighbouring lands belonged to the light-coloured race of the Tehen, and further to the west to the race of the Libu and Tamahu. From the neighbourhood of the Tritonis lake, where a cycle of legends existed, the central points of which the warlike armed Pallas-Athene (the Egyptian Neit) and the ruler of the sea Poseidon, united on the one side with the Greeks, on the other side with the Phœnician and Egyptian races, there extended the very migratory groups of peoples of the races we have mentioned, to whom the horse and the ass, besides the ox did good service as beasts of burden

in their wanderings along the northern coast of the African continent, and to whom the before named Canopic branch of the Nile formed their extreme and much desired eastern boundary. Here at its mouth lay the place called Karba or Karbana, the Karbanit of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, a name pointing to a foreign origin, the Heracleum of later Egyptian Greek times. The town thus called appears for the first time in the great Harris papyrus, of the time of the third Ramses. Mention is there made of an irruption of the united Libu and Mashauasha, that is the Libyans and Maxyer, who possessed the whole country to the west of the Canopic branch of the Nile, 'from the town Memphis as far as the place Karbana.' The name of the last seems to be good Semitic, at least the first part of it Kar represents the well known word for a town Kar (Assyrian kar; Hebrew kir, kirjah).

When we turn to the eastern boundary of the Delta Semitism meets us according to the testimony of the monuments in the most evident manner. The principal region of it comprehends the country to the east of the Tanitic branch of the Nile in which were situated the three Lower Egyptian nomes VIII, XIV and XX. The capital of the 14th nome, the town of Tanis, which gave its name to the branch of the Nile which runs by it, bore the foreign designation Zar, Zal and even in the plural Zaru, as if it was to be translated 'the town of Zar.' The name Tanis, which was given to it by the Greeks, is to be carried back to another designation of it, namely to the Egyptian form Zean, Zoan. It is the same name which we meet with in Holy Scripture as

Zoan, which was built seven years later than Hebron (Numbers xiii. 23). The town of Tanis is everywhere in the Egyptian inscriptions designated as an essentially foreign town, the inhabitants of which are represented 'as the people in the eastern border lands.' The eastern border land is however nothing else than the ordinary designation of what was later the Tanaitic nome, which, although not often, appears in the list of nomes under the denomination of Ta mazor, that is, 'the fortified land,' in which may easily be recognised the long sought most ancient form of the Hebrew name for Egypt, Mazor or Misraim.

On the granite memorial stone of the year 400, of the era of king Nubti or Nub, which was discovered in Tanis, and whose designation of the year to this day puzzles the heads of the learned, there appears 'a governor of the fortress,' Zal, who besides this office enjoyed the title of 'governor of the foreign peoples.' In this example also there is question of inhabitants of foreign origin in that portion of the Egyptian Delta which we have mentioned.

The papyrus rolls of the time of the nineteenth dynasty with a certain preference busy themselves with this town, which besides the two names we have mentioned bore also a third, Piramses, that is the 'town of Ramses.' About the origin of this name and about the identity of the town Ramses with the biblical Ramses, we will further on collect together what is necessary to elucidate the subject. With reference to this question the papyrus rolls to which we have alluded mention a number of lakes and waters, situated in the neigh-

bourhood of the foreign town Zal, whose peculiar designations at once remind us of their Semitic origin. I will mention as an example of the names of waters rich in fish and birds; the Shaanau, Putra, Nachal, Puharta or Puharat. The marshes and lakes rich in water plants, which at this day are known by the name of Birket Menzaleh, were then called by the name common to all these waters, Sufi (or with the Egyptian article Pa-sufi, which is the same as 'the Sufi,') which word completely agrees with the Hebrew Suf. The interpreters generally understand this word in the sense of rushes or a rushy country, while in old Egyptian it almost completely answers to a water rich in papyrus plants.

To the east of the Tanaitic nome or the 'Eastern border land,' another nome was situated on the sandy banks of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, the eighth in the general enumeration of the Egyptian nomes, which the inscriptions represent under the designation of the 'point of the east,' although we will not conceal that our translation 'point' perhaps requires correction. This is, however, an unimportant matter for our object. It is on the contrary much more important to know that the capital of the nome we have mentioned bore the name Pi-tom, that is, 'the town of the sungod Tom,' in which we must immediately recognise the Pithom of the Bible. The town occupied a central situation of the district, whose name also must be referred to a foreign origin. It is the district Suko or Sukot, the Succoth of the Holy Scriptures at the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, the meaning of which,

'tent,' or 'tent camp,' can be only established by the help of the Semitic. Such a designation is not extraordinary for a district whose natural peculiarity quite answers to the meaning of the name, since it embraces places with meadows, the property of Pharaoh, on which the wandering Bedouins of the eastern desert pitched their tents to afford necessary food for their cattle. Even as late as the Græco-Roman times of Egyptian history appears the designation 'tents,' and tent camp (Scenæ), also applied to places where they were accustomed to pitch their camp of tents. I will only recall the scenæ veteranorum and the scenæ Mandrorum, which under the reign of Theodosius II. were used as the names of Egyptian places. The site of the town Pitom is on the monuments frequently more closely defined by the important designation 'at the entrance of the east, at the eastern entrance,' namely from the desert into Egypt. A piece of water in the neighbourhood of the town received again a name borrowed not from the Egyptian, but Semitic language, namely, Charma, or Charoma, which means 'the piercing.'

To return once more to Sukot, we must remind the reader that the children of Israel in their journey out from the town Ramses pitched their first camp in the country called 'the tents.' On the second day they reached in their wanderings the place to which the Bible gives the name of Etham. I have elsewhere proved, that this place also, according to Egyptian testimony, was either in the country of Sukot, or at least in its close neighbourhood. It is the place called Chetam, on various occasions, in the hieratic papyrus rolls, the meaning of

which, 'a shut-up place, fortress,' completely agrees with the Hebrew Etham. We shall have the opportunity of returning to this Chetam-Etham when we describe the Exodus of the children of Israel.

In the same nome, the eighth of the description on the monuments, and the same which the Greeks and Romans used to call the Sethroitic,[1] lay without doubt that most important town, which became the turning point in the following history, the town Hauar, the literal interpretation of which is 'the house of the leg,' (uar). In a particular place in the Manethonian description of the dominion of the foreigners, the so-called Hyksos kings, which has fortunately been preserved in an extract of the Jewish historian Josephus, there occurs a mention of the same name. Manetho names the town Auaris—and incidentally deduces its origin from a pious Saga. A closer examination of the nome with its towns, as they are described to us in the different more or less detailed and well arranged lists on the monuments of the Ptolemies, renders it probable that other places also of the land of Egypt bore the name of Hauar, and particularly those which in their Serapeums, that is, in the temples of the dead, dedicated to the benefactor of the land Osiris, carefully preserved the legs of the god as holy relics. Thus was named for example the capital of the third Lower Egyptian nome, or the Libyan, with a name added, Hauar ament, that is 'the town of the right leg.' The great inscription, so important for a knowledge of the land of Egypt, on the

[1] On the origin of this name compare p. 9 of my book *L'Exode et les Monuments Egyptiens.* Leipzig: 1875.

wall of the most holy place in the middle of the temple of Edfou, (Apollinopolis Magna), completely confirms the statement that the inhabitants of that town of the Libyan nome, 'worshipped this leg in one of the temples dedicated to the Apis bull.' We may, therefore, with complete justice, maintain that the name also of the town Avaris, on the eastern side of the Delta, was connected with this peculiar worship of the leg of Osiris. Lastly, it is not difficult to recognise the left leg of the god, because of the evident reference to the peculiar situation of the arms of the Nile, which was well known to be considered as another form and manifestation of Osiris. After the stream has divided itself at the point of the Delta, into a fork in the neighbourhood of a place called Kerkasorus (this designation seems to have the meaning of split 'Kerk,' of Osiris) so as to form two main arms, or as the Egyptians were accustomed to say legs, the Canopic to the west, and the Pelusiac to the east, the western arm was considered as the right leg of Osiris, and the Pelusiac on the contrary as the left leg of the god. The towns situated in the neighbourhood of the mouth, were naturally considered as peculiar Osiris cities, in whose holy of holies the legs of that god played so peculiar a part. By this method of understanding it the saga finds its full explanation.

The town Hauar Avaris, with which we are at this moment occupied, lay as we said, to the east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, with which according to all probability it was connected by a canal, if the theory should not be accepted that it was placed directly on

the shore of the branch of the Nile at its mouth, when the river had become very broad. By a gradual silting up of this branch in the course of thousands of years, the restitution of the ancient bed of the river, and the right determination of the situation of the towns on its banks has become so difficult a task, that we can have no hope of finding anywhere the site of the Hyksos town Avaris, which has disappeared, unless some very fortunate accident should bring about its discovery. But that Hauar must in any case be sought in the neighbourhood of a lake is taught us in the most positive manner by the much cited inscription in the tomb at El-kab of the navigator Aahmes, the faithful servant of Pharaoh, who in the history of his life relates how he came there, when the Egyptian fleet was engaged in fighting the foreign enemies in the waters Pa-zetku or Zeku, of the town of Hauar. This name also, in spite of the Egyptian article placed before it, has a Semitic appearance, so that I should not hesitate to compare it with corresponding roots of Semitic languages.

Another place situated on the same territory of the Sethroite nome, bears on the monuments a purely Semitic name, Maktol or Magdol; this is nothing else than the Hebrew Migdol, with the meaning of a 'town,' or fortress, out of which the Greeks formed on their side the well-sounding name Magdolon. That the ancient Egyptians were well acquainted with the meaning of this word which was foreign to their language, is conclusively proved by the masculine article being placed before it, and the sign of a wall which was added to the foreign word when written in

Egyptian. The site of this Migdol, of which mention is made in the Bible, not only in the description of the exodus of the Jews out of Egypt, but also in occasional passages, was distinctly stated to be at one of the most northern points of the inhabited country of the Egyptians; and as it also bore on the monuments the native name of Samut, must be sought in the heaps of rubbish at Tell-es-Samut on the eastern side of Lake Menzaleh. With this fortress Migdol, between which and the sea king Ramses III. once tarried with a portion of his infantry, as a not inactive witness of the victory of his Egyptian fleet over the confederated seafaring people of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, the list of defences, which were intended to protect the country on the east is not yet closed. There lay in the direction of the north-east, on the western border of the so-called Lake Sirbonis, an important place for the defence of the frontier, called Anbu, that is 'the wall,' 'the circumvallation.' It is frequently mentioned by the ancients, not under its Egyptian appellation but in the form of a translation. The Hebrews call it Shur, that is, 'the wall,' and the Greeks 'to Gerrhon,' or 'ta Gerrha,' which means 'the fences,' or 'enclosures.' This remark will at a stroke remove all difficulties which have hitherto existed with reference to the origin of this word, which in spite of difference in sound nevertheless refers to one and the same place.

Whoever travelled eastwards from Egypt to leave the country, was obliged to pass the place called 'the walls,' before he was allowed to enter the road of the

Philistines, as it is called in Holy Writ, on his further journey. An Egyptian garrison, under the command of a captain, guarded the passage through the fortress, which only opened and closed on the suspicious wanderer if he was furnished with a permission from the royal authorities. Anbu-Shur-Gerrhon was also the first stopping-place on the great military road, which led from the Delta by Chetam-Etham and Migdol to the desert of Shur. From Anbu, passing by the fortress of Uit, in the land of Hazi, or Hazion (Kassiotis of the ancients), the traveller reached the tower, or Bechen, of Aanecht (Ostrakene), where occurred the boundary of the countries of Kemi and Zaha. On the foreign territory of the last-named place the traveller reached, always passing along the coast of the sea, the place Ab-sakabu (having the same meaning in Semitic as Rhinokolura or Rhinokorura with the Greeks, namely, 'the place of the mutilation of the noses'), and at length reached the country of the inhabitants living on the borders of Palestine.

With the names of places which we have laid before the reader, the examples which show clear traces of a very early Semitic influence are not nearly terminated. We meet everywhere on the eastern side of the Delta with towns and fortresses, the names of which point to very ancient Semitic colonists. I will not cite the well-known Annu or On (the Heliopolis of the Greeks), the original meaning of which, as well in old Egyptian as in Hebrew, seems to have been 'stone' or 'stone columns,' but other clearer examples, with which the 'Dictionary of the Egyptian Towns' will furnish us.

Thus there lay in the neighbourhood of Mendes, perhaps even in Mendes itself, a fortified place called 'the fortress of Azaba,' the last part of which does not belong to the Egyptian tongue but to a Semitic stock. This is the fortress of Ozaeb, in Hebrew—i.e. 'of the idol.' Another well-known town, in the account of the war of the first Meneptah against the Libyan groups of peoples on the east side of the Delta, bore the appellation Pi-bailos, 'the town Bailos' (Greek, Byblos; Coptish, Phelbes), the Semitic origin of which is made clear by its evident relationship with the Hebrew, Balas (the mulberry). In its neighbourhood was the lake Shakana, also with a non-Egyptian name, the meaning of which is only explained by the Semitic root shakan—'to settle down, to live, to be neighbours to.' More inland, in the middle of the same region of the Delta, the traveller met, to the west of the Athribitic nome, the town Kahani, a name with a foreign Semitic sound, which recalls at once the Hebrew, kohen, 'priests.' In this way it is not difficult by comparative philology to point out other examples of the connection between the names of Egyptian settlements and towns and ancient Semitic inhabitants.

But the presence of Semitic natives on the Egyptian land is shown in another direction, whether they were planted pure and unmixed on the soil, or were led by time and circumstances to seek their bread there. The memorial stones found in the cities of the dead in Ancient Egypt, and the coffins and the rolls of papyrus, show unmistakably the presence of Semitic persons, who were settled in the valley of the Nile, and had, so

to speak, obtained the rights of citizenship, as also, on the other side, the inclination of the Egyptians to give to their children Semitic, or, by a singular mixture, half Egyptian and half Semitic names. One has but to cast a glance on Herr Lieblein's useful list of Egyptian proper names to be fully persuaded of this fact. There were Egyptians who bore names like those following: Adiroma, Abarokaro, Baal-Mohar, Pesahales, Mausan, Mashu, Namurod, Nanai, Pet-baal, Sagarta, Qapur, Karopusa, and others, without there appearing the slightest objection to the foreign character of these names.

The inclination of the Egyptian mind to Semitic modes of life must, in my opinion, be explained from their having long lived together, and from very early existing mutual relations of the Egyptian and Semitic races. Above all things else, it must not be lost sight of that the trade relations, which extended from the Nile to the Euphrates, had contributed to introduce into Egypt foreign expressions for many products of the soil and foreign works of art. The animal world also, when they had not their home in the valley of the Nile, brought their contributions of words borrowed from the Semitic—as, 'sus' for a horse, 'kamal' for a camel, 'abir' for a particular kind of ox. The endeavour to pay court, in the most open manner, to whatever was Semitic, became, in the time of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, a really absurd mania. They introduced Semitic words in place of Egyptian words already existing in their own mother tongue, and in the writing of their country; and turned even Egyptian words into Semitic,

by transposition of the syllables, if we may use such an expression. But the worst of it was that the most educated and best-informed portion of the Egyptian people, the world of priests and scribes, found an especial pleasure in decking their history with Semitic words, which they used to employ in the place of good Egyptian expressions. They used Semitic expressions like the following: rosh, 'head'; sar, 'a king'; beit, 'a house'; bab, 'a door'; bir, 'a spring'; birkata, 'a lake'; 'ketem, 'gold'; shalom, 'to greet'; rom, 'to be high'; barak, 'to bless'; and many others.

We must here, on this subject, not forget a remark which, when well understood, is calculated to explain in some degree this striking fact, and to excuse what seems worthy of blame in this mania for the introduction of foreign words into the mother tongue. In the east of the lowlands, in those countries of which we have spoken above, and whose central point was the cities of Ramses and Pitom, the Semitic immigration had extended so widely, and had reached such a preponderance over the Egyptian population, that, in the course of centuries, a gradual blending of both nations took place. It led to the formation of a mixed people, traces of which have been preserved unchanged in these places to the present day. The neighbouring Egyptians, weaker in numbers, found it convenient not only to adopt the manners and usages of the Semites, but began to take an inclination to the foreign worship of idols, and to enrich their own divine lore with new and hitherto unknown heavenly forms of foreign origin. At the head of all stood, half Egyptian and half

Semitic, the godhead of Set or Sutech, with the additional name Nub,[1] 'gold,' who was considered universally as the representative and king of the foreign deities in the land of Mazour. According to his essence, a most ancient Egyptian creation, Set, at the same time gradually became the representative of all foreign countries—the god of the foreigners.

If I mention the names of Baal and Astarta, which we so frequently meet with in the inscriptions, it is scarcely necessary to mention that both have their origin in the Phœnician divine lore. As in Sidon so in Memphis, the warlike Astarta (who in the Egyptian monuments of a later time was represented as a lion-headed goddess, guiding with her own hand her team of horses yoked to the chariot of war) had her own temple; and we will later on give a proof that Ramses II. raised a particular temple to her honour and her service on the lonely shore of the Mediterranean, near the Lake Sirbonis.

Less frequently occurring on the monuments than the previously mentioned representatives of the Semitic divinities, the fierce Reshpu still had his place in the Egyptian host of heaven. He was called 'the end of long times, the king of eternity, the lord of strength in the midst of the host of gods;' and the goddess,

[1] It is a very remarkable fact, that from the times of the highest antiquity in Eastern representations, the curse of the Typhonic deities adheres to gold. According to a Greek tradition (Plutarch on *Isis and Osiris*, p. 30) at the sacrificial feast of Helios the worshippers of the god were directed to carry no gold about their persons, just as in the present day the followers of Mohammed take off all gold trinkets before they go through the appointed prayers.

Kadosh, that is, 'the holy,' whose name already indicates the peculiar character of her heavenly existence. The frolicsome Bes, or Bas, also, of whom we have spoken above, the chief of song and of music, of pleasures, and all social amusements, must be mentioned again in this place, since he was, according to his origin, a pure child of the Semitic race of the Arabs. His name, in their language, means Lynx and Cat; and we think we are not carrying the comparison too far if we at once place by his side the cat-headed goddess, the protectress of the town of Bubastus, the much venerated lissom Bast. If we also mention that the Phœnician Onka, and the Syrian Anait or Anaitis, belong to those heavenly beings whose names and forms are again found in the Egyptian divine world, where they take their places under the names of Anka and Anta, then we have exhausted the principal representatives of the Semitic deities in the old Egyptian theology.

Perhaps the influence of the Semitic neighbourhood on Egyptian matters might be proved from looking at it in a new point of view. In this case a very remarkable and striking fact will bear convincing evidence in favour of our views. We allude here to the peculiar era, found nowhere else, which an Egyptian courtier once used, in the fourteenth century before Christ, to indicate the year of the execution of an inscription. I allude to the celebrated memorial-stone of Tanis, erected in the reign of the second Ramses.

Contrary to the custom and usage of reckoning time by the day, month, and year of the reigning

king, the stone of Tanis offers us the only example as yet discovered, which, according to appearances, resorts to a foreign and not an Egyptian mode of reckoning time. There is here question of the year 400 of King Nub, a prince belonging to the foreign lords of the Hyksos. In other words, if we do not misunderstand the main issue, in the town of Tanis, whose inhabitants for the most part belonged to Semitic races, this mode of reckoning was in such general use that the person who raised the memorial-stone thought it nothing extraordinary to employ it as a mode of reckoning time in the beautifully engraved inscription on granite which was exhibited before all eyes in a temple. There can hardly be a stronger proof of the influence of Semitic manners on the Egyptian spirit and customs than the testimony we have brought forward of the stone of Tanis. A preponderating and almost irresistible power of Semitism lies hidden here, the importance of which it is as well to remark upon before we undertake to describe the history of the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt, and the consequences connected with it on the condition of the empire.[1]

Taking into consideration all this testimony, which

[1] In a work just published, *The Sun-and-Sirius Year of the Ramesides, with the Secret of the Intercalation and the Year of Julius Cæsar* (Leipzig, 1875), the author, Herr Karl Riel, has undertaken, in great detail, to adduce the proof that the date from the year 400 of the 4th Mesori of King Nub relates to the introduction of the feast of the Sun-and-Sirius year in the year 1766, in which the 15th of Pachons of the changing year fell on the 15th of Thot of the fixed year, that is on the real normal day of the rising of Sirius. Without wishing to pass a judgment on the value of this view, we will confine ourselves to one simple remark. The work which has

seems to speak in favour of our view of the importance of Semitic influence on Egyptian relations, we will question the monuments for confirmation of the presence of Semitic races and families on Egyptian soil. We will direct our attention to the eastern provinces of the Delta, which offered the only entrance to wanderers from the east.

As an answer, we insert the literal translation of a circular, which was composed in the course of the nineteenth dynasty, and with the view on the part of the writer to give a report to his superior on the admission of foreign immigrants to Egyptian soil.

'I will now pass to something else which will give satisfaction to the heart of my lord (namely to give him an account of it), that we have permitted the races of the Shasu of the land of Aduma (Edom) to pass through the fortress Chetam Etham of Mineptah-Hotephimaat—Life, weal, and health to him—which is situated in the land of Sukot near the lakes of the town Pitom of King Mineptah-Hotephimaat, which is situated in the land of Sukot, to nourish themselves and to nourish their cattle on the property of Pharaoh, who is a good sun for all nations.'

In this extremely important document of the time of the first Mineptah, the son of Ramses II., there is

been carried out, and which is conducted with unmistakable thoroughness and knowledge of the subject, must be examined in its whole extent and connection before we can be permitted to give a fixed opinion on the changes which are there pointed out on the subject of the Egyptian calendar. I will here state that the existence which I have long conjectured of a fixed year in many dates on Egyptian monuments here finds full confirmation.

question of the races of the sons of the desert, or to use the Egyptian name for these, the races of the Shasu, in which science has for a long time and with perfect certainty recognised the Bedouins of the highest antiquity. They inhabited the great desert between Egypt and the land of Canaan, and extended their wanderings sometimes as far as the River Euphrates. According to the monuments, the Shasu belonged to the great race of the Amu, of which they were the head representatives. In the times of the first Seti, the father of Ramses II., the land passed through by the Shasu began at the fortress Zal Tanis, and stretched towards the East as far as the hill-town 'of Canana,' in Wady Araba to the south of the Dead Sea, which Seti I. took by storm in his campaign against the Bedouins. The author of the writing designates those Shasu who were permitted by superior authority to enter the Egyptian kingdom, as the Shasu of the land of Aduma which was the Edom of the Bible and the land of Idumæa of later times. The tribes of the Shasu, who are referred to in the circular we have quoted, were therefore sufficiently designated as inhabitants of the land of Edom. The position of these last is more closely defined in Holy Writ as the mountainous country of Seir.

On this occasion we have the satisfaction to declare once again the complete agreement of the information on the monuments with the traditions of Holy Writ. In that place of the Harris papyrus, in which mention is made of the campaigns of King Ramses III. against these very Shasu, an important observation is intro-

duced into the speech of the king. He speaks namely, thus, 'ari-a sek Sair-u em mahaut Sasu;' that is, 'I annihilated the Sair among the tribes of the Shasu.' The name of Sair answers letter for letter with the Hebrew word Seir. The comparison must appear all the more founded, as the Egyptian writer has appended to the written words of the name the sign for dumbness, which is the hieroglyphic for a child, as if he wished by this to prove his knowledge of the Semitic language, in which Sa'ir means 'the little one.' The Se'irites, the children of Se'ir, were dwellers in caves and original inhabitants of the mountain range of Se'ir. At a later period, hunted down by the children of Esau, they yielded their land to the conquerors, to whom the appellation of Se'irites, as inhabitants of the Se'ir range, was afterwards transferred.

With the help of this knowledge beforehand, it is no longer difficult to assign their true place to the Shasu on the theatre of events which are the object of our inquiry. The land of Edom and the neighbouring hill country was the home of the principal races of the Shasu, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries before our era left their mountains to fall upon Egypt with weapons in their hands, or in a friendly manner followed by their flocks and herds to beg sustenance for themselves and their cattle and to seek an entrance into the rich pastures of the land of Succoth. Manifestly the calls of hunger drove them to the rich corn lands of the blessed Delta, where they took up their abode in huts near their brethren of the same race, who had become settled inhabitants.

As in the neighbourhood of the town of Ramses and the place Pitom the Semitic population had formed the main foundation of the inhabitants from hoar antiquity, and as subjects of the Pharaoh had been obedient to the laws of the Empire, so in the lapse of time in another part of the Eastern provinces in the country of Pibailos (the Bilbeis of modern maps), close on the edge of the desert and in sight of the cultivated land, disagreeable neighbours had fixed themselves and pitched their tents where they found pasture for their cattle. These were Bedouins, who according to all probability found their way from the dreary desert through the difficult paths of the great papyrus marsh near the present town of Suez in a north-western direction, to find the object of their wandering near the town of Pibailos. Mineptah I., the son and successor of Ramses II., gives on the monument of his victories in Karnak a graphic account of the dangerous character of these unbidden guests to whom, from Pabailos to On and Memphis, the way lay open, without the kings his predecessors having found it worth while to establish fortresses, to bar the way of these strangers to the most important cities of the lower country. When the Pharaoh we have named succeeded to the throne of his fathers, the danger of a sudden irruption on this side appeared all the more threatening, because on the other side the Libyans, the western neighbours of the Egyptians, with their allies suddenly passed the frontiers of Kemi, and extended their plundering raids into the heart of the inhabited and cultivated western nomes of the Delta. According to the report of the inscription of his victories

(unfortunately injured by the lesion of the upper part), Mineptah I. saw himself obliged to take precautions for the safety of the land. For the protection of the Eastern frontier, the capitals On and Memphis were provided with the necessary fortifications, for as the cited inscription expressly says 'the foreigners had pitched their ahil[1] or tents before the town of Pibailos, and the districts at the lakes of Shakana to the north of the canal of the Heliopolite nome had remained unused, for they had been abandoned to serve as mere pasture of the herds because of the foreigners, and had become deserted from the time of our forefathers.[2] All the kings of Upper Egypt were living in their magnificent buildings, and the kings of Lower Egypt enjoyed peace in their cities. All around the order of the land was threatened by disturbers. The armed force was wanting in people to assist them to give them an answer.'

We will at this place make the remark that Ramses III. was the first to protect the entrance into Egypt on this side by a newly-built fortress near the modern Qasr Agerud in the north-westerly direction from the Gulf of Suez. The whole country, to which the fortified place belonged, near the 'great well,' bore the name Aina or Aian, which continued till the time of Pliny in the slightly changed form Aean. Under the

[1] Again a Semitic word; the Hebrew Ohil, with the same meaning.

[2] The translation of this sentence presents a difficulty which I can hardly think I have solved. There can, however, be no doubt of the general meaning, and that the author of the inscription intended to say what I have pointed out in my translation.

Græco-Roman dominion the particular nome to which Aean belonged was called the Heliopolite nome after the name of its capital.

Before we cast a glance at the neighbours of the Egyptians of the Delta, who carried on war and traffic with the inhabitants of Kemi, it seems useful to attend to a particular circumstance, which is not without importance for arriving at a right judgment on Semitism.

Our advancing knowledge of the contents of the Egyptian papyri permits us, even at the present time, to cast an intelligent glance at the administration of the Eastern provinces, which had for its central point the town of foreigners Zoan-Tanis in the time of the great Ramessides and their successors. Hence went forth the commands of the king, or of the chief officials of the king, relating to the management of business or the regulation of trade with 'the foreign nations,' or to use the Egyptian expression for these, with the Pit. A portion of these consisted of the industrious settled population in towns and villages; another portion served in the army of Pharaoh as infantry and cavalry, or as sailors; others were used in the public works (the most laborious of these were the mines and quarries). Over each larger and smaller division of 'foreigners,' who with their names and origin were carried on the list of the royal archives, an official was placed, the so-called Hir-pit, or steward of the foreigners. His next superior was the captain of the district or Adon (here also they used the Semitic form for this title), while as chief authority the Ab of Pharaoh (this was the dignity which Joseph held), or

royal Wezer, issued orders in the name of the ruler. The authority over the foreign people lay in the hands of particular bailiffs (the so-called Mazai), who in the principal cities of the land had to look after and preserve public order, and who were under an Ur or superior by whom the carrying out of public buildings was frequently undertaken as an additional duty. I pass over a host of other officials who in the eastern provinces of the Delta as in the rest of Egypt carried on the administration of the nomes, and I will only mention that frequently the foreign subjects were promoted to important offices in connection with the Government. They seem to have been most appreciated as the bearers of official documents in the trade transactions between Egypt and the neighbouring Palestine. The chief seats of this trade, the importance of which is shown by individual papyri, besides the frontier town of Ramses, seem to have been the fortified places near the Mediterranean sea coast, and further inland to the east the country of the Edomites and Amorites.

We will embrace the opportunity we have long desired, in this place to consider the neighbours in Palestine, who continually carried on the most lively intercourse with the Egyptians in old time, and partially formed the foundation of the foreign inhabitants in the eastern provinces of the Delta. In the first line stand the Char, or Chal, by which name not only a people but the country they inhabited was also known, namely, those parts of Western Asia lying on the Syrian coast, and before all others the land of the Phœnicians. Richly laden ships went and came from

the land of Char; for the inhabitants of Char carried on a lively trade with the Egyptians, and seem, if we are not to mistrust the monuments and the rolls of the books, to have been a highly-esteemed and respectable people.

Even the male and female slaves from Char were a highly-esteemed merchandise who were procured by distinguished Egyptians at a high price, whether for their own houses, or for service in the holy dwellings of the Egyptian gods.

The land of the Char bears in the inscriptions another name, the most ancient mention of which is supported by all the testimony we could desire, namely, by witnesses in the first times of the eighteenth dynasty, about the year 1700 B.C. It is always called Kefa or Keft, Kefeth, Kefthu, on the monuments. As at a certain time of Egyptian history, namely, at the beginning of the reign of the first Seti, the territory of the Shasu extended as far as the town of Ramses, about a hundred years later, the seats of the people of Char, or the Phœnicians, were described as 'beginning with the fortress Zar (Tanis Ramses), and extending to Aupa or Aup.' The last-mentioned name designates a place in the North of Palestine, without our being able more nearly to define its situation. On the other hand, the information is of very great importance, that these same Char had extended their seats quite into the heart of the Tanitic nome. We can, after the reasons we have given above, no longer be surprised that these descendants of Phœnician race constituted in the eastern provinces of the Egyptian empire the real kernel of its

fixed, industrious, artistic, and before all, its seafaring and commercial population. In their habits and mode of life they were directly opposed to those wandering Shasu, the children of Esau, who traversed the deserts, and only remained with their herds so long on the property of Pharaoh as the pastures suited them and supplied sustenance for themselves and their cattle.

The influence of the settled Char on Egyptian life is unmistakable in a thousand details, for a knowledge of which we have to thank the monuments, and particularly the little rolls of papyrus. Even the fortified town of Zoar, if we are not completely deceived, seems to have been a very ancient habitation of the Phœnicians, since as well on the water side of it as by land Zoan-Tanis constituted at the entrance to the Delta on the east, an important emporium of intercourse and trade with the whole of the rest of Egypt. The name of the town Zor, by the side of that of Zoan, reminds us too much of the celebrated Zor-Tyrus in the native country of the Phœnicians, for us to leave it unnoticed in an account of the traces of the Phœnician race.

The presence of the Char-Phœnicians in Egypt is, as already observed, made known to us in the most detailed manner by the inscriptions. I have already before spoken of those Semitic inhabitants who were employed in Egypt in all sorts of official service. To these in the first line belong the Phœnicians, or Char. Their importance culminates in the fact newly communicated to us by the monuments, that a Char-Phœnician, towards the end of the nineteenth dynasty,

was able to conquer the throne and dominion over the Egyptians, as hereafter will be more fully narrated.

The Char spoke their own language, the Phœnician, upon the peculiarities of which, in relation to the other Semitic languages, the Phœnician inscriptions that have been hitherto discovered have already preserved plentiful information. Of all the languages spoken by Arab and Western Asiatic nations, the monuments only notice the language of the Char, with a clear reference to its importance as the most cultivated representative of all the others. Whoever lived in Egypt spoke Egyptian (the language of the people of Kemi); whoever stayed in the south was obliged to speak the language of the Nahesi, or dark-coloured people; while those who went to the north of the Asiatic region must have been well acquainted with the language of the Phœnicians, in order in some degree to understand the inhabitants of the country.

The historical fact, that the Phœnicians already, in the most ancient times of Egyptian history, formed a fixed settled population in the eastern provinces of the Egyptian empire, finds a kind of confirmation, or if it is preferred an explanation, from a remarkable circumstance. We mean the presence of the latest descendants of the old Phœnician race in the same seats which their forefathers occupied thousands of years ago. At this day the traveller meets on the shores of the Lake Menzaleh, near the old towns and districts of Ramses and Pitom, a peculiar race of fishermen and sailors, whose manners and customs, whose historical traditions, however weak they may be, and

whose ideas on religious matters, prove them to have been strangers to the real Egyptians. The inhabitants of this country, formerly Christians, who call themselves by the name of Malakin, were restless and obstinate servants of the Khalifs. They are the same whom the Arab historians call sometimes Biamites or Bimaites, sometimes Bashmurites, without science having been able up to this time to discover the origin of their name. The so-called Bashmurite dialect of the Koptic language is a kind of peasants' language with certain peculiarities in the use of particular letters (for instance, b and l in place of f and r of the other dialects, the Sahidish and Memphite), and especially an unmistakably large number of Semitic words, the origin of which goes back to the ancient times of our history.

The same inhabitants of the eastern provinces, who at this day navigate in their barks the shallow waters of Lake Menzaleh, and carry on the fishery as their chief business, are, as has been said, the descendants of the Phœnician inhabitants of the Tanitic and Sethroitic nomes. These were the people who ages ago gave to the fortified places of their Egyptian lands, and to the towns and villages which they once inhabited, and to the lakes and canals on which they navigated, those Semitic appellations by which we well know these places from the papyrus rolls.

What most marks their ancient and now forgotten origin, is their non-Egyptian countenance, so like the pictures of the Hyksos, with broad cheek-bones, and with daring pouting lips, which more than anything

else marks the boatmen of Lake Menzaleh with the stamp of a foreign origin.

The history of the inhabitants of the eastern provinces lies buried and forgotten under the rubbish heaps of thousands of years. And yet their fathers were once the lords of the fate of Egypt, before whose rough strength the Pharaohs bowed themselves powerless, and were obliged for centuries to pass a furtive existence in the southern portions of the empire. Set had conquered Osiris. How that happened we shall see in the following portion of our history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE TIME OF FOREIGN DOMINION—JOSEPH IN EGYPT.

WE have now arrived at that obscure portion of Egyptian history which Manetho, the Egyptian priest and savan, had in his mind when he spoke of the dynasty of the Hyksos. Whatever we may think of the value and the trustworthiness of this appellation, which has been handed down to us by those who had the luck to possess and copy the complete work of the Egyptian savan, which was afterwards lost, one thing remains confirmed in spite of frequent examinations and apparent difficulties, and that is the name of Hyksos. It deserves a very particular attention owing to the source from which it came, and this for two reasons; first, because this source was once an old Egyptian one, and next, because the monuments support it and in no way refuse the desired confirmation of the occurrences which have been related.

According to the Manethonian account which the Jewish historian Josephus has preserved to us by transcribing it, the Egyptian Netherlands were at a certain time overspread by a wild and rough people, which came from the countries of the East, overcame the native

kings who dwelt there, and took possession of the whole country, without finding any great opposition on the part of the Egyptians. The account of it in Josephus is literally as follows:—

'There was a king called Timaius (or Timaos, Timios). In his reign, I know not for what reason, God was unpropitious, and people of low origin from the country of the East suddenly attacked the land, of which they easily and without a struggle gained possession. They overthrew those who ruled there, burnt down the cities, and laid waste the temples of the gods. They ill-treated all the inhabitants, for they killed some, and carried into captivity others, with their wives and children.

'And they made one from the midst of them king, whose name was Salatis (Saltis, Silitis). He fixed his seat in Memphis, collected the taxes from the upper and lower country, and placed garrisons in the most important places. But he particularly fortified the Eastern boundary, for he foresaw that the Assyrians, then the most powerful people, would undertake to make an attack on his kingdom.

'When he had found a town very conveniently situated, in the Sethroite nome to the East of the Bubastic branch of the Nile—on the grounds of an old mythical legend—it was called Auaris—he extended it, fortified it with very strong walls, and placed in it as a garrison 240,000 heavy armed troops.

'There he betook himself in summer, partly to watch over the distribution of provisions and the counting out their pay to his army, and partly also to

strike fear into foreigners by making his army perform military manœuvres.

He died after he had reigned . .	19 yrs.
His successor, by name Bnon (or Banon, Beon) reigned	44 yrs.
After him another Apachnan (or Apachnas)	36 yrs. 7 months.
After him Aphobis (or Aphophis, Apophis, Aphosis)	61 yrs.
And Annas (or Janias, Jannas, Anan) .	50 yrs. 1 month.
Last of all Asseth (or Aseth, Ases, Assis)	49 yrs. 2 months.

'These six were the first kings. They carried on war uninterruptedly with a view to destroy the land of Egypt to the roots.

'The whole people bore the name of Hyksos, that is, "shepherd kings." For hyk means in the holy language a king, sos in the dialect of the people a shepherd or shepherds. These syllables, when put together, make the word Hyksos. Some think they were Arabs.'

We will first of all turn our attention to the last statement, because it is of great importance for the fixing of the origin of this obscure people. If the kind reader will now recall to his thoughts what we have said about the Arab Bedouins, who inhabited the desert to the East of Egypt, and were called in Egyptian Shasu, (also Shasa, Shaus, Shauas), he will certainly be of the same opinion as ourselves, that those who maintain the Arab origin of the Hyksos, must have drawn their information from a pure Egyptian source. For that word Sos answers completely to the old Egyptian

Shasu, in which the sound sh[1] which did not exist in Greek, according to usage was replaced by a simple s. Although Manetho, when he talks of the Hyksos, insists upon the meaning of shepherd, he could only do this in consequence of a strange confusion, since he turns to the new and popular language of his own time to explain the second syllable sos, in which accidentally sos (or shos, as the same word is still pronounced in Coptic) means a shepherd.

We have already before remarked how from time to time the Bedouin people of the Shasu knocked at the eastern frontier door to obtain an entrance into Egypt. We have, on the ground of testimony from an inscription of the time of the nineteenth dynasty, stated the certainty of their presence on the Egyptian soil, when hunger drove them from their native hills and valleys to the Eastern provinces of the Pharaonic empire. Like the modern Bedouins, the Shasu were a pastoral people in the full sense of the word. The old name of the race of the Shasu and Shaus-Bedouins in the course of time became equivalent in the popular language to 'shepherds,' that is, a wandering people, who occupied themselves in bringing up cattle, which formed the only

1. We will adduce further examples, borrowed from the work of Manetho, which leave no doubt that the Greek sign for s was used to represent the old Egyptian sound sh. Manetho transcribes the kings names, Sheshonq as Sesonchis, Shabak as Sabakon, Shabatak as Sebichos. Also the name of King Chufu, which the Egyptians at the time of the composition of the work of Manetho pronounced Shufu, was transcribed by Manetho Suphis. The older, and only correct pronunciation of this name has been carefully preserved in the Cheops of Herodotus.

wealth of the inhabitants of the desert in all times down to the present day.

If the objection should be raised that the monuments (note well, those which have been discovered up to the present time) pass over in complete silence the name of Hyksos, this appearance of proof has all its importance from the following consideration. By far the greater number of contemporary monuments which once existed as individual witnesses of the remembrance of the historical events under the rule of the foreign kings, have entirely disappeared from the surface of the Egyptian soil. It must be left to some lucky accident, that somewhere the stones now hidden or buried in the rubbish may come to the light of day, to give us new information about these portions of the history of the Egyptian empire, which are as obscure as they are important. The wonderland on the banks of the mighty Nile is a land of continual and startling discoveries, and will remain so for all coming times and generations. In the hope of finding important discoveries in the soil of Egypt in consequence of new excavations, we should esteem it unwise to give to our views the absolute form of a fixed unalterable judgment. But we may well be allowed to compare the information in the inscriptions of the few remains of the monuments which have been preserved with the accounts which the Greeks have handed down to us, and from this to form our own opinion, and leave it to the consideration of the future, if by a happy accident our conjectures should be confirmed or refuted.

At the present moment, we expressly affirm the

complete agreement of the name of Hyksos with the Egyptian double word we have mentioned above—Hak Shaus, that is, 'king of the Arabs,' or 'king of the shepherds'—the probability of which is proved by the actual existence of a similar form in the term Hak Abisha, 'king (or prince) of the land of Abisha,' which we meet with in the hall of the tomb of Chnumhotep at Beni-Hassan. We will not, however, on the other hand, maintain that the appellation Hak Shaus is the same which the bearers of it, of whatever descent they might boast, either formed of their own accord for themselves or assumed on account of their office. It is far more probable that the Egyptians, when at last they drove away their tyrants of Semitic blood, gave these princes who for several centuries had considered themselves as the legitimate kings of Egypt, the nick-name Hak Shasu by way of a contemptuous expression.

An ancient tradition furnishes an important addition to the proofs of the Arab origin of the hated Hyksos kings, which has been preserved by several Arab historians of the Middle Ages. An Arab tradition tells us of a certain Sheddâd (the name means a powerful ruler), the Adit, who made an irruption into Egypt, conquered the country, and extended his victorious campaign as far as the Straits of Gibraltar. He and his descendants, the founders of the Amalekite dynasty, are said to have maintained themselves more than two hundred years in Lower Egypt, where they made the town Awaris their capital.[1]

According to another tradition, on the testimony of

[1] Compare Fluegel's *History of the Arabs*, 2nd ed., p. 11.

Africanus (one of those who extracted from the work of Manetho), the Hyksos kings were Phœnicians, who took possession of Memphis, and made the town of Auaris or Awaris, in the Sethroite nome, their chief fortress. This tradition also is not without a certain air of truth, if the reader will recall to mind what I ventured to state above regarding the Char-Phœnicians and the town Auaris. The ancient seats of the Shasu-Arabs and of the Phœnicians extended towards the west as far as the same town of Zor-Tanis. The two races must therefore have been located together in the closest manner—the first as wanderers, the last as fixed inhabitants of the eastern provinces of the Egyptian empire, which were possessed by the foreigners. That the cultivated Khar in such a mixture of nations claimed the first rank, can scarcely need proof. Whether they or the Shasu were the originators of this movement against the native kings of the empire is a point for the decision of which scientific research has hitherto failed to discover the means.

Let us leave entirely the ground of conjectures and probabilities, and turn now to the monuments, to see if they can furnish us with any existing traces of these foreigners to assist our researches. The answer is decidedly in the affirmative, but in such a general way that further inspection and examination is very necessary. The inscriptions designate this foreign people, which once ruled in Egypt till it was driven from the country by the Theban kings, by the name of Men, or Menti. According to the great table of nations on the walls of the temple of Edfou, those called Menti are

inhabitants of the land of Asher. By the help of the demotic translation of the inscription, in two languages, on the great stone of Tanis (known under the name of the decree of Canopus, a voucher, it is true, of the Ptolemaic times), we can establish that such was the common name of Syria in the mouths of the Egyptians who were then living; while the older name of the same country, in the hieroglyphic part of the stone, was Rutennu, with the addition, 'of the East.' In the different languages, and in the different times of history, the following names: Syria, Rutennu of the East, Asher, and Menti were therefore synonymous. We wish here to point out, although we leave the matter undecided, that Asher, in late Egyptian, may perhaps have meant the Semitic Ashur, or Assyria, and at last may have become contracted both as to the extent of country and common usage to the well-known geographical term Syria.

Of high importance with regard to the foregoing question appears to us the derivation of the old national name Rutennu (or Lutennu), which, in the history of the eighteenth dynasty, and in the warlike campaigns of the Pharaohs in the East, plays such an important part. As to the geographical extent to which this name applied, we are fortunately so well informed that no mistake can ever occur again. In the great catalogue of the towns of Western Asia conquered by Thotmes III., whose inhabitants, after the battle of Megiddo, submitted to the Egyptian rule, they are described in a general superscription as all the population of 'the upper land of the Rutennu.' This proves, in the most

positive manner, that the name of Upper Rutennu must have included in its circumference almost exactly the frontiers of the country which was later that of the twelve tribes of Israel.

With this key in our hand, we can open many a closed door to the right understanding of the great movement of nations to the east of Egypt, so that we can survey with a clear glance the horizon of these migrations. If it is an undeniable fact, resulting from historical enquiry under the guidance of the monuments, that, immediately after the driving out of the Menti, the Egyptian kings of the eighteenth dynasty planned their campaigns of conquest against the countries of Western Asia inhabited by the Rutennu, then there lay at the bottom of these obstinate constantly repeated inroads a fixed feeling of revenge and retribution for losses and injuries received. The conviction forces itself upon us with almost irresistible force, that the irruption of the foreigners into Egypt was made by the Syrians, who, in their campaigns through the arid deserts, found in the Shasu-Arabs welcome allies who well knew the country. And here I am reminded of a similar alliance which Cambyses formed with the Arabs in his campaign against Egypt. They found also in the Semitic inhabitants settled in the eastern provinces brothers of the same race, with whose assistance they succeeded in giving a death-blow to the Egyptian empire, and of robbing it for centuries of all power of action and independent life.

The present state of Egyptian enquiry, concerning the history of the Hyksos, has enabled us to find an

answer to a number of questions which stand in close connection with these matters, and embrace the following facts:—

1. A certain number of non-Egyptian kings of foreign origin, belonging to the nation of the Menti, ruled for a long time in the eastern portion of the Delta.

2. The foreign princes had, besides the town Zoan, chosen as the capital of their power the typhonic place Hauar-Auaris, on the east side of the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, within what was called later the Sethroite nome, and had provided it with strong fortifications.

3. The foreigners had, besides the customs and manners, adopted the official language and the holy writing of the Egyptians. The whole arrangement of their court was formed on the Egyptian model.

4. These same foreign kings were patrons of art. Egyptian artists made, according to the old pattern and according to the prescribed usage of their forefathers, the monuments in honour of the foreign tyrants; yet, in the statues of them, they were obliged to give way with regard to the expression of the foreign countenances, the peculiar arrangement of the beard, and the head-dress and other deviations of foreign costume.

5. These foreign kings honoured, as the supreme god of their newly-acquired country, the son of the heavenly goddess Nut, the god Set or Sutekh, with the additional name Nub, 'gold,' or 'the golden'—according to the Egyptian mode of viewing things, the origin of all that is bad and perverse in the seen and unseen world; the opponent of what is good, and the enemy of light. In the towns of Zoan and Auaris the foreigners

had constructed to the honour of this god splendid temples and other monuments, especially Sphinxes, constructed of stone from Syene.

6. In all probability one of the foreign lords was the originator of the new era, which most likely began with the first year of his reign. Up to the reign of the second Ramses, four hundred full years had elapsed of this reckoning, which was acknowledged by the Egyptians.

7. The Egyptians were indebted to the stay of the foreigners, and to their social intercourse with them, for much useful knowledge. Especially the horizon of their artistic views was enlarged, and new forms and shapes were introduced into Egyptian art, the Semitic origin of which is obvious from a single glance at these productions. The winged Sphinx may be reckoned as a notable example of this new direction of art introduced from abroad.

We remarked above that the number of the monuments which contain memorials of the time of the Hyksos is very limited; and we must add that the names of the Hyksos kings, with which they ornamented their own memorial-stones (statues, Sphinxes, and similar works), or those of earlier Egyptian kings of the times before them, have arrived to us half obliterated or carefully chiselled out, so that the decypherment of the faint traces which remain has to struggle with great difficulties. These important lacunæ in the study of the Egyptian monuments find a sufficient explanation in the proved and easily understood practice of the kings of native race who ascended the throne after the expulsion of the foreigners, and who

particularly set themselves carefully to obliterate all remembrance of the hated princes, and to destroy and annihilate their works.

The names of the Hyksos kings, which are engraved on the more than life-size statue at Tell Mukhdam, the border of the stand of the colossal Sphinxes in the Louvre, the lion found near Bagdad, the sacrificial stone in the Museum of Boulak, are scratched out with great care, so as to be almost undistinguishable; and science has to thank a happy accident for the preservation and decypherment of the names of two Hyksos kings. These are—

1. The king, whose first cartouche contains the name Ra aa-ab-taui, and whose second cartouche encloses the family name Apopi, or Apopa; and,

2. King Nubti, or Nub, with the official name Set aa-pe-huti (properly, 'Set the powerful').

The name of the first-mentioned king, which would be pronounced in the Memphitic dialect Aphophi, differs little from that of the Shepherd king Aphobis or Aphophis, Apophis, which, according to the Manethonian tradition, was the fourth of the above-named Hyksos kings. We will also not withhold the remark, that many Egyptians of these times call themselves Apopi, or Apopa, in the same way, with a certain predilection.

The names which designate the other Hyksos kings are in a striking manner similar in sound with the names which the god 'Set-Nub the powerful' is accustomed to bear on the Egyptian monuments. Was it the intention of the foreign prince to be prayed to as the god Set?

In the deep obscurity in which a pitiless fate has hidden the history of the irruption and the dominion of the Hyksos kings in Egypt, a ray of light is visible only towards the close of the tyranny of the foreigners.

In a roll of papyrus in the British Museum (Sallier, No. 1) there is, although unfortunately much interrupted with lacunæ, the beginning of an historical description which is connected with the names of the foreign king Apopi and the Egyptian underking Ra Sekenen (the victorious Sun-god Ra), both contemporaries. It is the glory of that master of science, E. de Rougé, too soon lost to us, to have first recognised the high value of this writing in its full importance. It begins with the following words:—

(I. 1) 'It came to pass that the land of Kemi belonged to enemies. And nobody was lord in the day when that happened. At that time there was indeed a king Ra-Sekenen, but he was only a Hak of the town of the south, but the enemies sat in the town of the Amu, and there was king (Ur) (2) Apopi in the town of Auaris. And the whole world brought him its productions, also the northern land did the same with all the good things of Ta-meri; and the king Apopi (3) chose the god Set for his divine master, and he did not serve any of the gods which were worshipped in the whole land. He built him a temple of beautiful work, to last a long time [. . . and the king] (4) Apopi (appointed) feasts (and) days to offer (sacrifices) at each time to the god Sutech.'

The King Ra-Sekenen in 'the city of the south' had, according to all appearance, incurred the particu-

lar displeasure of the tyrant of Auaris, who intended to hurl him from the throne, and sought for means and pretexts to carry out his intention.

There had evidently before this begun a correspondence between the tyrant in the north and the Hak in the southern land, in which the first-named among other things required of the last to give up the worship of his gods, and to worship Amon Ra alone as the only divinity of the country. Ra-Sekenen had declared himself prepared for all, but had added a proviso to his letter in which he expressly declared, to allow him to speak for himself (II. 1) 'that he was not able to promise to serve no other of the gods which were worshipped in the whole country but Amon-Ra, the king of the gods alone.'

A new message to the unfortunate Hak of the southern city was deliberated upon and agreed to by King Apopi. The papyrus announces this in these words :—'Many days later after these events (II. 2) King Apopi sent to the governor of the town in the land of the south this message, ... which his secretaries had advised him. (3) And the messenger of Apopi betook himself to the governor of the city of the south. And (the messenger) was brought before the governor of the city of the south. (4) He spoke thus, when he spoke to the messenger of King Apopi: "Who sent thee here to this city of the south? How hast thou come to spy out?"'

The messenger of King Apopi thus addressed, first answered the governor in these simple words: 'King Apopi it is who sends to thee,' and thereupon delivers

his message, the particular contents of which are very disquieting to the first-mentioned personage. It was a question of stopping a canal. The first remark of the messenger that he had not taken sleep either day or night, until he had fulfilled his mission, must appear like scorn. The writer paints the situation of the Hak with few words, but those full of meaning.

'(6) And the governor of the town in the south was for a long time troubled so that he could not (7) answer the messenger of King Apopi.'

But he nerved himself and made a speech to the messenger. Unfortunately the chief contents of it have been torn out by the destruction of the papyrus at this place. After the foreign messenger had been hospitably entertained, he betook himself back to the court of King Apopi, while Ra-Sekenen as quickly as possible called his friends around him. The papyrus thus relates what occurred:

'(11) And the messenger of King Apopi returned to the place where his lord tarried (III. 1). Thereupon the governor of the town of the south called unto him the great and chief men, as the commanders and captains who accompanied him, (2) in order (to communicate) to them the message which King Apopi had sent to him, but they all of one accord were silent through great grief, and wist not what to answer him good or bad.'

After the following words, 'then sent King Apopi to the,' the writer breaks off in the middle of a sentence, without satisfying the curiosity of his readers two and thirty centuries afterwards. For next comes the be-

ginning of the letters of Pentaur, the poet of the well known heroic song of the great deeds of Ramses II. at Kadesh.

Although this precious writing is frequently, in the most important passages of the narrative of Apopi, interrupted through holes and rents, owing to the splitting of the papyrus, still what remains is amply sufficient to make known to us the persons, the places, and the circumstances of this historical drama.

King Apopi meets us as chief hero. His royal residence is in Auaris. The enemies, foreigners, have taken possession of Egypt. Its inhabitants are obliged to pay a tax of their possessions and substance to the foreign tyrants. Apopi worships his own divinity, the god Sutech, who is already known to us as the Egyptian expression of the Semitic Baal, especially of Baal Zapuna, the Baal-zephon of Holy Scripture. He builds a splendid temple to his god, and appoints festivals and offerings for him.

In the south of the land, in No, 'the town' of the south, that is in Thebes, the capital of Patoris, 'the region of the south' (the biblical Pathros), there sat an offshoot of the oppressed Pharaohs, Ra-Sekenen, only invested with the title of Hak, or sub-king.

King Apopi is the all-powerful lord, the general ruler of the land. Complaisant learned men belong to his court, who bear the remarkable title of Rechi-chet, that is, the experts.[1] They give counsel to the king, bad counsel as it appears, since they induce him to send

[1] On the stone of Tanis the Greek translator renders this term by the well-known word *Hierogrammats*, or Temple scribes.

a messenger to the sub-king in No, with still more severe demands worthy of a Cambyses. The messenger enjoys no rest, but day and night hurries to the southern land.

The sub-king, Ra-Sekenen, receives him with the same question which Joseph, his contemporary, put to his own brethren when they came down to Egypt to buy corn, since he said to them, 'Whence come ye? Ye are spies, and ye are come here to see where the land is open.'

After the Hak had received all the communications of the tyrant Apopi from the mouth of his messenger, he was deeply moved by their dangerous import. The great lords and chief men of his court were summoned to a council; and the leaders also of the army, the Uau or officers, and the Hauti or captains, took part in it.

But good counsel is dear. No one dared to make any proposal from the fear of unfortunate consequences.

Such is an abstract of this remarkable document. We may rest assured, even without knowing the conclusion of the whole story, that the author of it must have aimed, by his description, at portraying something more important than the humiliation of a native Hak. The subject without doubt really was the history of the uprising of the Egyptians against the yoke of the foreigners. In order to teach us the cause and meaning of this, the unknown narrator begins his history of the war of liberation, which was brought about in the way we have mentioned, by a description of the unfortunate position of the empire. His history,

which began so sadly, ends happily, and the actual proofs from the monuments bear out his fortunate conclusion.

In order to find the proofs from the monuments let us betake ourselves to the land of the south, let us pass by the towns of Thebes, Hermonthis and Latopolis, on both sides of the stream, and let us stop on the right bank, in sight of the most ancient walls of the city of El-Kab. This discovers to us the position and extent of the former capital of the third upper Egyptian nome, which the Greeks designated as the town of Eileithyia, the goddess presiding over births, and the Romans as the town of Lucina in their description of Egyptian places. In the background towards the East, there rise rocky hills, with long rows of tombs, whose dark openings appear to the traveller like the broken windows of a ruined castle.

We will betake ourselves to the chambers of the tombs. Here the chequered world of the foretime, the life and activity of the old forefathers, and the forms of the ancestors who have passed away, meet us in the pictures which have been still preserved.

In truly venerable forms, which seem to people the chambers of the dead, we greet the contemporaries of the Hyksos kings, whose progeny belonged to the heroes of the great war of liberation of the Egyptians from the tyranny of the foreigners.

Let us enter these chambers of the dead, which a grandson has dedicated to the hero Aahmes, the son of Abana-Baba, and his whole house as the last memorial of their existence and of their deeds. The walls of the

narrow chamber are covered by a widely-spread genealogical tree of his race, which has suffered much injury. We have put it together as completely as possible in the appended table, according to the information of the inscriptions:—

Aahmes, the son of Baba-Abana, and his daughter's son Pahir, form the most important persons of the genealogical tree.

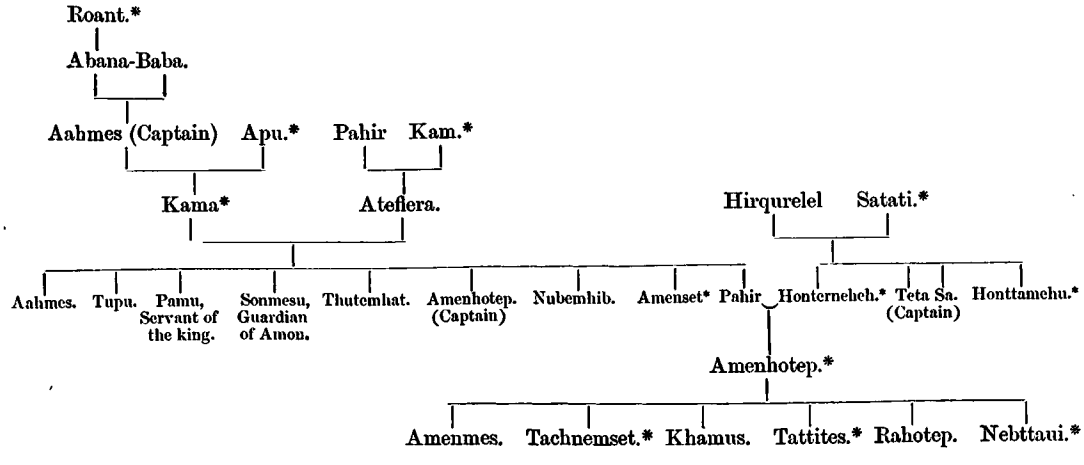
Before we listen to the words of the hero, who in a great text on a wall in one of the sepulchral chambers relates to us the history of his life in the simple language of the time, perhaps we may be permitted to offer beforehand some necessary observations on the kings who were contemporary with him.

The sub-king Ra-Sekenen, mentioned in the history of Apopi the shepherd king—who informs us also of his throne name—did not alone bear this appellation. Two other kings, his forefathers, were also called Ra-Sekenen, and to all three likewise belonged the family name, pronounced in the same manner, Taa. There were, therefore, three Ra-Sekenens with the same name Taa. The inscriptions distinguish them by particular additional names, so that Taa II. was distinguished by the addition A, or Ao, that is, 'the great,' and Taa III. by the additional name Ken, that is, 'the brave.'

They now lie buried in the samé town in which Ra-Sekenen, the cotemporary of King Apopi, exercised his functions as a simple Hak. This was Thebes, or No, that is, 'the town' *par excellence*, which was soon after raised, under the kings of the following house, to

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF THE CHIEF OF THE SAILORS, *AAHMES*,

TAKEN ON THE SPOT FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TOMB AT EL-KAB, IN UPPER EGPT.



N.B.—The names marked with an asterisk * are female.

the position of the widely celebrated No, that is, 'the great city.'

Even if the tombs of the Taa had not yet been discovered in their place, we might have been certain of their existence on Theban soil, from some indications of the old time. In the Abbot papyrus, which is among the most valuable treasures of the British Museum—the same which contains the official report from the times of the twentieth dynasty on the forcible opening and robbing of the royal tombs—the burial-places of these Pharaohs are mentioned.

The graves of the following kings and queens are enumerated in a succession in order of time, which also partly corresponded with their local position.

King Si-ra Nen-a (xi. dynasty).
King Nub-kheper-ra Nentuf (xi.).
King Ra Sekenen se-sheti Sebekemsauf (xiii.).
King Ra Sekenen Taa I.
King Ra Sekenen Taa II., 'the Great.' } (xvii.).
King Uot-kheper ra Kames }
Aahmes Sipar (xviii.).

As they were placed in Thebes, these Taa must have reigned in Thebes. The dynasty to which they belonged must therefore have been a Theban one, that is the seventeenth dynasty of Diospolis, according to the statements of Manetho.

Instead of any further historical dissertation, we will lay before the reader a faithful translation of the inscription in which Aahmes portrayed in the old speech the course of his life as a picture of the time for posterity. The particular author of the inscription is 'the son of his daughter, who executed the work in

this sepulchral chamber, in order to perpetuate the name of the father of his mother, the master of the drawing art of Amon, Pahir.'

The following are the words of the inscription as the clever Pahir executed it:—

1. The deceased chief of the sailors, Aahmes, a son of Abana

2. he then speaks. I speak to you, to all people, and I give you to know the honourable praise which was given to me. I was presented with a golden chain eight times in the sight

3. of the whole land, and with male and female slaves in great numbers. I had a possession of many acres. The surname of 'the brave' which I gained never vanished away

4. in this land. He speaks also further. I have completed my youthful wandering in the town of Nukheb. My father was a captain of the deceased Ra Sekenen, Baba

5. son of Roant, was his name. Then I became captain in his place on the ship 'The Calf,' in the time of the lord of the country, Aahmes, the deceased.

6. I was still young and unmarried, and was girded with the garment of the band of youths. Still, after I had prepared for myself a house, I was taken

7. on the ship 'The North,' because of my strength. It was my duty to accompany the great lord—life, prosperity, and health attend him!—on foot, when he rode in his chariot.

8. They besieged the town of Auaris. My duty was to be valiantly on foot before his holiness. Then was I changed

9. to the ship 'Ascent in Memphis.' They fought by sea on the lake Pazetku of Auaris. I fought in a struggle with fists, and

10. I gained a hand. This was shown to the herald of the king. They gave me a golden present for my bravery. After that a new fight arose in this place, and anew I fought in a struggle with fists

11. in that place, and I gained a hand. They gave me a golden present another time. And they fought at the place Takem to the south of the town (Auaris).

12. I gained of living prisoners a grown-up man. I went into the water—him also bringing to remain aside from the road to

13. the town. I went, firmly holding him, through the water. They announced me to the herald of the king. Then I was presented with a golden present again. They

14. conquered Auaris. I gained in that place prisoners, a grown-up man and three women, which makes in all three heads. His holiness gave them to me for my possession as slaves.

15. They besieged the town Sherohan in the sixth year. His holiness took it. I brought booty home from here, two women and a hand.

16. They gave me a golden present for valour. In addition, the prisoners from it were given to me as slaves. After then that his holiness had mown down the Syrians of the land of Asia,

17. he went against Khont-Hon-nofer to smite the mountaineers of Nubia. His holiness made a great destruction among them.

18. I carried booty away from that place, two living grown-up men and three hands. I was presented with a golden gift another time; they also gave me three female slaves.

19. His holiness descended the stream. His heart was joyful because of brave and victorious deeds. He had taken possession of the south and of the north land. There came an enemy from the southern region.

20. He approached. His advantage was the number of his people. The gods of the southern land were against his fist. His holiness found him at the water Tent-ta-tot. His holiness brought him forth

21. as a living prisoner. All his people brought booty back. I brought back two young men, when I had cut them off from the ship of the enemy. They

22. gave me five heads, besides my share of five hides of arable land in my town. It happened thus to all the ship's crew in the same way. Twice

23. there came that enemy whose name was Teta. He had assembled with him a bad set of fellows. His holiness annihilated him and his men, so that they no longer existed. So there were

24. given to me three people and five hides of arable land in my town. I conveyed by water the deceased king Amenhotep I., then he went up against Kush to extend

25. the borders of Egypt. He smote these Nubians by means

of his warriors. Being pressed closely, they could not escape. Bewildered

26. they remained in the place just as if they were nothing. Then I stood at the head of our warriors, and I fought as was right. His holiness admired my valor. I gained two hands,

27. and brought them to his holiness. They sought after their inhabitants and their herds. I brought down a living prisoner and brought him to his holiness. I brought his holiness in two days to Egypt

28. from Khnumt-hirt (that is, the upper spring). Then I was presented with a golden gift. Then I brought forward two female slaves, besides those which I led

29. to his holiness, and I was raised to the dignity of a 'champion of the prince.' I conveyed the deceased King Thutmes I., when he ascended by water to Chont-hon-nofer,

30. to put an end to the strife among the inhabitants, and to stop the attacks on the land side. And I was brave (before him) on the water. It went badly on the (attack)

31. of the ship on account of its upsetting. They raised me to the rank of a captain of the sailors. His holiness—may life, prosperity, and health be allotted to him!—

32. (Here follows a rent, which, according to the context, is to be filled up in such a manner as to show that a new occasion calls the king to war against the people of the south).

33. His holiness raged against them like a panther, and his holiness slung his first dart, which remained sticking in the body of his enemy. He

34. fell fainting down before the royal diadem. There was then in a short time a (great defeat), and their people were taken away as living enemies.

35. And his holiness travelled downwards. All nations were in his power. And this wretched king of the Nubian people found himself bound on the fore part of the ship of his holiness, and he was placed on the ground

36. in the town of Thebes. After this his holiness betook himself to the land of the Rutennu, to cool his anger among the inhabitants of the land. His holiness reached the land of Naharina.

37. His holiness found—life, prosperity, and health to him!—these enemies. He ordered the battle. His holiness made a great slaughter among them.

38. The crowd of the living prisoners was innumerable, which his majesty carried away in consequence of his victory. And behold, I was at the head of our warriors. His holiness admired my valour.

39. I carried off a chariot of war and its horses, and those which were upon it, as living prisoners, and brought them to his holiness. Then I was afterwards presented with gold.

40. Now I have passed many days and reached a grey old age. My lot will be that of all men upon the earth. [I shall go down into the lower world, and be placed in the] coffin, which I have made for myself.

We will here append a translation of the inscription on the memorial stone of another Aahmes, with the surname Pen-nukheb, which was also found in one of the chambers of the tomb at El-kab. He belonged to the same times. His death took place under the third Thotmes.

I served the deceased king Aahmes. I gained for him as booty in the land . . . a living prisoner and a hand.

I served the king Amenhotep I. I seized for him in the land of Kush a living prisoner. Again (in the service) of the deceased king Amenhotep I. I took for him in the north of the land of the Amu-kahak three hands.

I served the deceased king Thotmes I. I seized for him in the land of Kush two living prisoners, besides the living prisoner which I took away from Kush. I do not count that here.

Again in the service of the king Thotmes I. I seized for him in the land of Nabarina twenty-one hands, a horse, and a chariot of war.

I served the deceased king Thotmes II. I brought for him from the land of the Shasu a great number of living prisoners. I do not count them here.

The hard time of distress and tyranny was now past for the Egyptian people. The reign of oppression was at once broken up, when Auaris had fallen, and another town of the Hyksos, the fortress Sherohan, had

been taken by storm. In the sixth year of the reign of king Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth house of the Pharaohs, Kemi was at length freed from the long oppression of the foreigner, and the armed soldiers of the Pharaoh passed triumphantly through the lands of the south and the east of Egypt, to conquer what had been lost and 'to wash their heart,' that is, to cool their anger against the enemies from a foreign land. Yet we do not perfectly understand the events, the true portraying of which the simple narratives of two warriors of those days have handed down to us, and we will next cast another glance at the conclusion of the seventeenth dynasty.

King Taa III., with the surname of 'the brave,' the predecessor of the Pharaoh Aahmes, the conqueror of Auaris, reigned in No-Thebes. His attention was directed to the creation of a Nile flotilla, with the intention one day of conquering Auaris, which was under the dominion of the Lower Egyptian Netherlands.

His successor, of the name of Kames, seems only to have reigned a short time. He was the husband of the much venerated queen Aah-hotep, whose coffin with the golden ornaments on the body was some years ago found by some Theban agriculturists in the ancient necropolis of No, buried only a few feet below the surface of the soil. These venerable artistic and historically precious remains of Egyptian antiquity, were delivered over to the Museum of Boolaq.

The cover of the coffin had the shape of a mummy, and it was gilt above and below. The holy royal asp decked the brow.

The white of the eyes is represented by quartz, and the pupils by black glass. A rich imitation necklace covers the breast and shoulders; the Uræus serpent and the vulture—the holy symbols of the Upper and the Lower land of Kemi—lie below the necklace. A closed pair of wings seems to protect the rest of the body. At the soles of the feet stand the statues of the mourning goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The inscription in the middle row gives us the name of the queen, Aah-hotep, that is, 'servant of the moon.'

When the coffin was opened, there were found between the linen coverings precious weapons and ornaments: daggers, a golden axe, a chain with three large golden bees, and a breastplate. On the body itself was found a golden chain with a scarabæus attached, armlets, a fillet for the brow, and other objects. Two little ships in gold and silver, bronze axes, and great bangles for the ankles, lay immediately upon the wood of the coffin.

The golden bark and the metal axes exhibited the cartouche of king Kames (with the throne-name Uot-kheper-ra); but the richest and the most precious of the ornaments showed the shields of the Pharaoh Aahmes. He bears on them the surname of Nakht, that is, 'the brave or victorious.' Without doubt, then, Queen Aah-hotep was buried in Thebes during the reign of her son Aahmes. Mention has already been made of the tomb of her royal husband at Thebes. Aah-hotep is therefore the proper ancestress of the eighteenth dynasty. It was her son Aahmes who was destined to rise up as the avenger of his native

country for the shame and oppression which it had so long endured.

And yet a strange enigma covers this age of shame, the veil of which we are not yet able to lift. For on a minute examination of the monuments of the times of the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties, many well-founded reflections force themselves upon us involuntarily; since, in fact, it would seem as if the hatred of the Egyptians against the Hyksos kings had not been so intense as the story handed down by Manetho appears to represent it. We of course except, when we speak of the Egyptians, the legitimate but oppressed kings of 'the region of the south,' in the Upper country, to whom the foreign tyrants in the Lowlands must have appeared in no agreeable light.

For had that hatred been so universal as Manetho's picture of the conflagrations, sacking of temples, and persecutions of the inhabitants by princes of the foreign hordes, gives us to understand, how are we to explain the strange fact that these same Egyptians, not excepting the college of priests of the Theban Amon, in the time of the Hyksos and the following dynasties, could prevail upon themselves to give their children pure Semitic names, borrowed from the language of their hereditary enemies? How could they themselves offer their homage to those gods of the strangers, who had done their land so much mischief, even to the extirpation of the native divinities? As an example, I may refer to a memorial stone of the time of king Amenhotep I. (now exhibited in the Louvre), on which a Theban family employed in the temple of Amon is portrayed

for six generations back, into the times of the Hyksos kings. The members of the genealogical tree for the most part bear pure Semitic names. Even the original ancestor, Pet-baal, calls himself literally 'the servant of Baal,' and his wife bears the foreign name Abrakro. Among his descendants the following men figure under Semitic designations: Atu, Tura, Aei, Tetaa; the women: Ama, Tanafi, Hishelat, Kafeniae, Tir, Aui, Ituae. And were there not many Egyptians who called themselves Apopa, or Apopi, exactly like the shepherd-kings, the contemporaries of Ra-Sekenen? Let the reader turn over the pages of the dictionary of Mr. Lieblein, and he will meet everywhere with examples in proof of these facts. Instead of repudiating the foreign names, which more than anything else seemed calculated to recall the remembrance of the Semitic tyranny, the Egyptians seem of their own accord to have adopted the names of their so-called arch enemy, and did not even shrink from adopting the names of the kings themselves.

If on the grounds of such striking appearances we are justified in drawing any conclusions at all, they cannot be in favour of the Manethonian tradition. Between the Egyptian and Semitic races—and they were both tinged with the colouring of the latter race—there certainly was no deep-rooted hereditary enmity, as the interpreters would make us believe. There was, indeed, a hatred on the part of the Theban race of kings, to whom their humiliation by the foreigners appeared all the more unendurable, as they had not the strength and power to free themselves from their dependence

on the foreign lords of the Netherlands. They had only at their command the weapon of the weaker against the stronger—namely, an exaggeration of the real existing relations between them—by picturing the foreigners as relentless against everything native. Hence they derived consolation, and an excuse for their own incapability to shake off the yoke, and to regain the firm possession of the whole kingdom.

Perhaps from the stand-point of a higher statesmanship, which in the strife for independence would consider every means as right which would contribute to that object, a certain justification might be found for the mode in which the Upper Egyptians represented the reign of the Hyksos. The historian, however, has another task to fulfil. His duty is to declare the historical truth according to the facts which have happened, to separate the corn from the husk, without having regard to the praise or blame of the partisans of this or that opinion. And in this view common justice ought not to be denied to the Hyksos before the judgment-seat of the history of the world. We will simply put the question, If those foreign kings were in fact desecrators of the temples, devastators and destroyers of the works of by-gone ages, how is it that these ancient works, although only the last remains of them, still exist, and especially in the chief seats of the Hyksos dominion; and further, that these foreign kings allowed their names to be engraved as memorial witnesses on the works of the native Pharaohs? Instead of destroying they preserved them, and sought by their own peculiar means to perpetuate

themselves and their remembrance on the monuments already existing of former rulers.

Zoan Tanis, the capital of the Egyptian eastern provinces, with its world of temples and statues of the times of the sixth, twelfth, and thirteenth dynasties, had so little to suffer from the Hyksos, that on the contrary these princes thought it incumbent upon them to increase the splendour of this vast temple town by their own constructions, although in a Semitic style of execution.

To the Theban kings of the eighteenth dynasty must first be attributed the doubtful praise of making war on the dead stones as a vengeance against the Hyksos kings, which their forefathers had in vain sought to wreak on the living monarchs. To destroy the monuments of the opposition kings, to annihilate their names and titles so as to render them unrecognisable, and to falsify historical truth by inscribing their own names, such were the endeavours of the Egyptian Pharaohs, who set about their work with such success as nearly to root out from the face of the earth the contemporary memorials of the Hyksos kings. We have to thank this persecution for the difficulties which lie in the way of restoring the history of the most ancient domination of the foreigners in Egypt.

If the fact should be brought forward, or even urged as proof against us, that Aahmes, the conqueror of the Hyksos, and after him King Amenhotep III., according to the statements of the rock inscriptions of Mokattam, rebuilt and restored the temples which

had fallen into ruin, and therefore, as those who differ from us will say, had been destroyed by the Hyksos, we oppose to this statement that these inscriptions never declare that this ruin was a consequence of their having been destroyed by the Hyksos. For those who erected these rock tablets, the oldest of which goes back to the time of an Amenemhat of the twelfth dynasty,[1] have used the same expressions in similar memorial inscriptions of all ages. They simply remark that the temples 'had fallen into ruin since the time of the forefathers.' The only allusion to foreigners, and this has nothing to do with any destruction by them, is found on the rock tablets of the twenty-second year of King Aahmes. This is a literal translation of them: 'these stones were drawn by oxen, which were brought here and given over to the foreign people of the Fenekh.' These Fenekh, or Fenikh, to whom we shall afterwards return, appear clearly to be the most ancient representatives of the Phœnicians on Egyptian soil.

Before we conclude this chapter perhaps we may be allowed to make some remarks on the relation, in point of time, of these historical events, with the stay of the Hyksos on one side, and on the other side with the stay of the children of Israel, on Egyptian soil. We have already made mention of a memorial stone

[1] Compare Lepsius, Denkm. II. 143, i. On the upper part of the rock-tablet, are seen the pictures of the Memphitic God Patah and of the divinities of Troja; a Hathor and the Anubis-jackal of Sap. The inscription below runs; 'new rock chambers were opened, in order to quarry limestone of An to use for the long-enduring temple of the holiness of this God (namely Patah).'

of the time of the second Ramses found in Tanis, the inscription on which commences with the following indication of its date: 'In the year 400, on the 4th day of the month Mesori of King Nub.' As on the basis of the newest and best enquiries into the question of old Egyptian chronology we fix the reign of Ramses II. at the year 1350 B.C. as a mean rate between various proposals, the reign of the Hyksos King Nub, and probably the beginning of his reign would fall about the year 1750 B.C., that is, 400 years before Ramses II. Although we are completely in the dark as to what place King Nub occupied in the succession of the princes of his house, yet the number mentioned has a certain importance in fixing an approximative date for the stay of the foreign kings in Egypt. This importance becomes much enhanced by its very clear relation to a similar statement in Holy Writ in relation to the total duration of the stay of the children of Israel in Egypt. According to this statement (Deuteronomy xii. 40) the Hebrews from the time of the immigration of their ancestor Jacob till the exodus had remained 430 years in Egypt. In another place (Genesis xv. 13) the duration of their stay is expressed by the round number of 400 years. Now, as according to general acceptation the exodus from Egypt took place after the death of Ramses II., the Pharaoh of the oppression, the year 1300 will approximately correspond to the time of the exodus in the reign of Mineptah, the son and successor of Ramses II. If we take, therefore, 430 years as the expression for the total duration of the stay of the

Hebrews in Egypt, we arrive at the year 1730 B.C. as the approximative date of the immigration of Jacob into Egypt, and for the time of the official career of his son Joseph at the court of Pharaoh. In other words, we arrive at the conclusion that the time of Joseph (1730 B.C.) must have fallen in the time of the Hyksos' domination, about the reign of the previously mentioned foreign prince, Nub (1750).

This singular coincidence of numbers, as we openly admit, appears to us to have a higher value than the data fixed on the grounds of particular calculations of the chronological tables of Manetho and the fathers of the church. For these numbers neither change nor rectify the great building of general chronology. Their importance is of quite a different character. Independently of every kind of arrangement and combination of numbers they prove the probability of a fixed date for a very important section of the general history of the world on the grounds of two chronological data, which in a most striking way correspond with one another, and of which each separately has its origin in an equally trustworthy and respectable source.

The supposition that Joseph was sold into Egypt and afterwards rose to great honour under the Hyksos, as results from the chronological relations we have mentioned, receives fresh support for its probability from a Christian tradition preserved by V. Syncellus. According to this tradition 'received by the whole world,' Joseph ruled the land in the reign of King Aphophis (Apopi of the monuments), whose age within

a few years corresponds with the commencement of the 18th dynasty.

We have great satisfaction in adding another very remarkable and clear confirmation of our remarks upon the time of Joseph and his master the Pharaoh. Upon the grounds of an old Egyptian inscription hitherto unknown, whose author must have been a cotemporary of Joseph and his family, we hope to adduce a proof that Joseph and the Hyksos cannot henceforth be separated from one another.

As a previous remark we will recall to the recollection of our readers the well-known fact that in the days of the patriarch in Egypt a seven years' famine occurred, the consequence of a deficiency of water in the overflowing of the Nile at that time.

This inscription, which appears to us so important, exists in one of the tombs at El-Kab, of which we have before spoken more particularly. From the peculiarities of the language, and from the style of the internal pictorial decoration of the rock chambers, but principally from the name of its former possessor, Baba, we may consider that the tomb was erected in the times immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty. Although no royal cartouche ornaments the walls of the tomb to give us certain information about the exact time of its erection, yet the following considerations are calculated to inform us on this point, and fortunately to fill up the gaps.

The name of the old possessor of the tomb, Baba, is already well known to us. Among the members of the great family of the times of the thirteenth dynasty,

whose genealogical tree we have before laid before our readers, and the greater number of whose tombs are situated in the rocky city of the dead at El-Kab, Baba appears in the third generation as the additional name of a certain Sebek-tut, the father of Queen Nubkhas. In the genealogical tree of the family of the Captain Aahmes at El-Kab the name Baba appears on another occasion, and also as the second appellation of our hero, Abana, a captain under King Ra-Sekenen (Taa III). Unless we are mistaken it is this Baba, whose tomb, situated near that of Aahmes at El-kab, promises us important disclosures. For the whole descendants of Aahmes, children, and grandchildren, and great-granchildren, repose in their ancestors' tomb, and in the excavations of the rock which Pahir, once the governor of Eileithyia, had prepared for himself and them. We should, however, in vain look round the sepulchral chambers of the ancestors of Baba were it not for the rock tomb of a Baba in the neighbourhood of that we have already mentioned. The inscription, which exists in the hall of sacrifice of this tomb on the wall opposite to the door of entrance contains the following simple childlike representation of his happy existence on earth owing to his great riches in point of children:

'The chief at the table of princes, Baba, the risen again, he speaks thus: I loved my father, I honoured my mother; my brother and my sisters loved me. I stepped out of the door of my house with a benevolent heart; I stood there with refreshing hand, and splendid were the preparations of what I collected for the feast

day. Mild was (my) heart, free from noisy anger. The gods bestowed upon me a rich fortune on earth. The city wished me health and a life full of freshness. I punished the evildoers. The children which stood opposite to me in the town during the days which I have fulfilled were small as well as great, 60 [1]; there were prepared for them as many beds, chairs (?) as many, tables (?) as many. They all consumed 120 Epha of Durra, the milk of 3 cows, 52 goats and 9 she-asses, of balsam a hin, and of oil 2 jars.

'My speech may appear a joke to some opponent. But I call as witness the god Month that my speech is true. I had all this prepared in my house; in addition I gave cream in the pantry and beer in the cellar in a more than sufficient number of hin measures.

'I collected the harvest, a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. And now when a famine arose, lasting many years, I issued out corn to the city at each famine.' [2]

There ought not to be the smallest doubt as to whether the last words of the inscription relate to an historical fact or not; to something definite or something only general. Strongly as we are inclined to recognise a general way of speaking in the narrative of

[1] In my French edition of this work I have given 52 as the number answering to that in the original text, being uncertain as to the mark, which has been destroyed behind the group, for 50. The number of 120 Epha of Durra seems to me proportionally to be too great to the number of 52 goats, and 2 × 60 would give exactly 120 Epha. These corrections are the result of a new examination of the inscription on the spot during my stay in Upper Egypt in 1875.

[2] Or also, 'to each hungry person.'

Ameni (see p. 154), where 'years of famine' are spoken of, here we are compelled by the context of the report before us to understand the term 'the many years' of the famine which arose as relating to a definite historical time. For famines following one another on account of a deficiency of water in the overflowing of the Nile were of the greatest rarity, and history knows and mentions only one example of it, namely, the seven years' famine of the Pharaoh of Joseph. Besides, Baba (or if the term is preferred the Babas, for the most part the contemporaries of the thirteenth and seventeenth dynasties), about the same time as Joseph exercised his office under one of the Hyksos kings lived and worked under the native king Ra-Sekenen Taa III. in the old town of El-Kab. The only just conclusion is that the many years of famine in the time of Baba must precisely correspond with the seven years of famine under Joseph's Pharaoh, one of the shepherd kings.

We leave it to the judgment of the reader to arrive at a conclusion on the probability of a clear connection between the two different reports on the same extraordinary occurrence. The simple words of the biblical account and the inscription in the tomb of Baba are too clear and convincing, to leave any room for reproach on the ground of possible error. The account in Holy Scripture of the elevation of Joseph under one of the Hyksos kings, of his life at their court, of the reception of his father and brothers in Egypt with all their belongings is in complete accordance with the manners and customs, as also with the place and time.

Joseph's Hyksos-Pharaoh reigned in Auaris or

Zoan the later Ramses-town, and held his court in the Egyptian style but without excluding the Semitic language. His Pharaoh has proclaimed before him in Semitic language an Abrêk, that is, 'bow the knee,' a word which is still retained in the hieroglyphic dictionary,[1] and was adopted by the Egyptians to express their feeling of reverence at the sight of an important person or object. He bestows on him the high dignity of a Zaphnatpaneakh, 'governor of the Sethroitic nome.'[2] On the Egyptian origin of the offices of an Adon and Ab which Joseph attributes to himself before his family, I have already made all the remarks that are necessary. The name of his wife Asnat is pure Egyptian and almost entirely confined to the old and middle empire. It is derived from the very common female name Sant, or Snat. The father of his wife, the priest of On-Heliopolis, is a pure Egyptian, whose name Potiphera meant in the native language Putiper'a (or pher'a) 'the gift of the sun.' The chamberlain who bought the boy Joseph from his brothers, and whose wife tempted the virtue of the young servant was Putipher, a name which could not be pronounced in Egyptian otherwise than Putipar or (phar), 'the gift of the risen one.' His titles are given in Semitic language although the word Saris or chamberlain is found written with Egyptian letters.[3]

[1] Compare my Dictionary under 'Bark,' p. 440.

[2] Pa'anekh, 'the place of life,' was the peculiar designation of the capital of this nome in the holy writing. The whole long word is to be analysed into its component parts in the old Egyptian language.

Za p- u nt p- a 'anekh.

"Governor of the district of the place of life."

[3] Examples of this are first found on the monuments long after Joseph's time, particularly in relation to Persian officials. On the

We will not neglect at the mention of Putiphar's wife to call attention to the passage of the Orbiney papyrus which at the same time is calculated to cast a bad light on the wantonness of the Egyptian women, but which before all things stands in a particular relation to the history of Joseph. Anepu, a married man, sends his young brother, the unmarried hero of the story from the field to the house to fetch seed corn. What occurred the following literal translation sufficiently explains:—'And he sent his little brother, and said to him, "Hasten and bring us seed corn from the village." And his little brother found the wife of his elder brother occupied in combing her hair. And he said to her "Rise up, give me seed corn that I may return to the field, for thus has my elder brother enjoined me, to return without delaying." The woman said to him, 'Go in, open the chest, that thou mayst take what thine heart desires, for otherwise my locks will fall to the ground." And the youth went within into the stable, and took thereout a large vessel, for it was his will to carry out much seed corn. And he loaded himself with

rock tablet of Hammamat, the inscription of which bears the dates one after another of the sixth year of King Cambyses, thirty-sixth of King Darius, and twelfth of King (Xe)r(xes), there is expressly mentioned ar en Saris en Paras, 'made by a Chamberlain (or eunuch) from Persian land.' From these very clear and intelligible words, to make out that the reading should be 'from a way to it (i.e. Egypt) from Persia,' as has been lately stated in an academical essay, must cause astonishment. 'Daniel stood as a page under the protection of a captain of a Saris at the court of the Persian king' (Daniel i. 3); and '7 Saris served before Ahasveros, the king of the Persians and Medes, to carry out his commands' 'Esther i. 10).

wheat and Durra corn and went out with it. Then she said to him, "How great is the burden in thine arms?" He said to her, "Two measures of Durra, and three measures of wheat make together five measures which rest on my arms." Thus he spake to her. But she spake to the youth and said, "How great is thy strength! Well have I remarked thy power many a time." And her heart knew him! . . . . and she stood up and laid hold of him, and she said to him: "Come let us celebrate an hour's repose. The most beautiful things shall be thy portion, for I will prepare for thee festal garments." Then was the youth like to the panther of the south for rage, on account of the evil word which she had spoken to him. But she was afraid beyond all measure. And he spoke to her and said, "Thou, oh woman, hast been like a mother to me, and thy husband like a father, for he is older than I, so that he might have been my begetter. Why this great sin that thou hast spoken to me? Say it not to me another time, then will I this time not tell it and no word of it shall come out of my mouth to any man at all." And he loaded himself with his burden and went out into the field. And he went to his elder brother, and they completed their day's work. And when it was evening the elder brother returned home to his habitation. And his little brother followed behind his oxen, which he had laden with all the good things of the field, to prepare for them their place in the stable in the village. And behold the wife of his elder brother feared because of the word which she had spoken and she took a jar of fat, and she was like one to whom

an evildoer had offered violence, since she wished to say to her husband, "Thy little brother has offered me violence." And her husband returned home at evening according to his daily custom and found his wife lying stretched out and suffering from injury. She gave him no water for his hands according to her custom. And the candles were not lighted, so that the house was in darkness. But she lay there. And her husband spoke to her thus: "Who has had to do with thee? Lift thyself up!" She said to him, "No one has had to do with me except thy little brother, since when he came to take seed corn for thee, he found me sitting alone and said to me, 'Come! let us make merry an hour and repose! Let down thy hair!' Thus he spake to me, but I did not listen to him (but said) See! am I not thy mother, and is not thy elder brother like a father to thee? Thus spoke I to him, but he did not hearken to my speech, and used force with me, that I might not tell thee. Now if thou allowest him to live, I will kill myself."'

We will break off at this place the thread of the narrative in which the simple mode of speech and exposition corresponds in the most striking manner with the style of the Bible. What we want to point out, the reader of the foregoing sentences will immediately perceive. Potiphar's wife and Anepu's wife precisely resemble one another, and Joseph's and Bata's resistance and virtue appear so closely allied that one is almost inclined to assign a common origin to both traditions. In any case the passage we have just quoted from the Egyptian poem of the two brothers

is a most precious and important elucidation of the history of Joseph in Egypt.

That Joseph was in fact clothed with the highest rank at court next to his king is evident from the office he filled of an Adon 'over all Egypt' (compare Genesis xlv., 9). On the monuments Adon answers to the Greek Epistates, an overseer, one set over others. The rank varied according to the business each had to perform. We find an Adon of the Amon town Diospolis, of the seat of justice, of the infantry, of the royal harem, of the treasury, of the workshops of Pharaoh, of the beer cellars, &c. The office of Joseph was quite different as an 'Adon over the whole land,' which I have only once again found in an old Egyptian inscription. Before King Horemheb of the eighteenth dynasty (the Horus of Manetho) ascended the throne, according to the account of a monument [1] preserved at Turin, he was clothed with several very high offices, which brought him near to the person of the king. Finally the Pharaoh was so pleased with his good services that he named him Ro-hir, that is Epitropos, or Procurator of the whole land. In this capacity, without having any one to share his authority with him, he was called to be 'the great lord in the king's house,' and 'he gave answer to the king and pleased him with the utterances of his mouth.' In such a service was Horemheb 'an Adon of the whole land for the duration of many years' until he rose to the position of 'heir of the throne of the whole

[1] We will further on, at the proper place, make our readers acquainted with this important and hitherto unpublished monument of the Turin collection.

land,' and finally placed the royal crown on his head. We see from this that an 'Adon of the whole land' was so important a position that Joseph, in fact, deserved the appellation of a Moshel or Shallith, that is, a Prince or Regent over the whole land as Luther translated the Hebrew word. With these remarks on Joseph we will conclude this portion of the history of the middle empire. We will bid adieu to those undefined forms, which appear before us only in the roughest sketches standing out from the mist of the fore time, to bear witness that they once existed on the soil of Egypt.

The seventeenth century before the birth of Christ is about the measure of time which separates the middle from the new empire. The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty now tread the stage of the world's history.

The period of shame is forgotten and left behind in the wasted regions of Auaris and Zoan. With the new race a new time breaks in upon us; the time of requital and vengeance on the descendants of the former conquerors of Egypt even to the fourth and fifth generations. The theatre of great events will now be the blood-stained fields of Western Asia. Megiddo, Kadesh Karchemish will henceforth be the focus of all warlike movements.

The monuments now begin to afford us clear and certain history, and they cease not to celebrate in poetry and prose the glory and splendour of those who raised them. Past is the dark night of degradation and humiliation. The brilliant day of honour and exaltation has risen for the Egyptians.

Let us enjoy its light in the world of the monuments so long as it shines. Its sun will at length go to rest; and its last red evening rays will cast a bloody reflection on the people grey with age and wearied with labour on the banks of the Nile, whom foreign nations and foreign rulers will at length in a merciless manner oppress even to death.

Vengeance was completed, and Egypt after this sunk to destruction.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY.

I. NEB-PEHUTI-R'A A'AHMES (AMOSIS), 1700 B.C.

THE dominion of the foreigners, whose expulsion marked the end of the dynasty of the Shepherds, had, in the course of its duration of many centuries, given rise to deep internal divisions, both in the different princely families and in the Egyptian population itself. Opposition was visible in individual districts, which reached its highest point in the hostile feeling of the Upper Egyptian inhabitants of Patoris, or the South, the Patrosim of Holy Scripture and of the Egyptian monuments, against the people of the plains of Lower Egypt, called Patomhit, who were much mixed with foreign blood. The indolent offspring of the old royal races had made the towns of their residence the centres of little kingdoms, as in the strong fortress of 'Agani, or El-Kab, in Thebes, in Khmun (the Hermopolis of the Greeks), and in Khinensu (Herakleopolis). So in the low Egyptian towns of Memphis, Sekhuu (Xoïs), Zo'an (Tanis), and elsewhere, the oppressed children of the ancient great monarchs were burning for a brilliant future of individual rule over the reunited divisions of the empire of Horus and of Set.

It was this condition of divided power and mutual jealousies and disputes which gave the foreign rulers their advantage and their chief strength, until at length King Aahmes was able to raise himself above his fellows, to throw a sufficient crew of bold warriors into his ship, to navigate it downwards from the upper country of Patoris to Memphis, and from thence working onwards to give to foreign rulers their deathblow in the fated town of Auaris.

Aahmes, whose name signifies 'Child of the Moon,' was certainly not of Theban origin. The moon was the heavenly habitation of the Egyptian Hermes, Thut, who upon earth was invoked by his disciples and adorers as 'the thought and will' of the sun-god Ra, his heavenly father, in his temple, in the midst of the frequently mentioned and much celebrated Ibis-town of Khmun-Hermopolis, on the left hand of the stream in Middle Egypt. According to ancient custom and usage, the name of this god, and that of his shining emblem in heaven, was with design chosen for the baptismal name of King Aahmes and of his mother 'Aahhotep,' 'the moonly,' and also of their offspring Thut-mes, whose sovereignty ushered in the fortunate times of the eighteenth dynasty.

We have already mentioned the short history which exists of this campaign. Aahmes attacked his enemies by land and sea, conquered the chief seat of their strength, the fortress Auaris, so celebrated in history, and pursued the people of the foreigners far beyond the boundary of Egypt as far as the Canaanitish town Sheruhan. This place will be mentioned later, in the

accounts of the wars of King Thutmes III. against Kanaan and Naharain as a resting place on the road from Egypt to the fortress of Gaza. It is not passed over in silence in Holy Scripture, since Sheruhan is expressly mentioned among the towns which fell to the lot of the inheritance of the tribe of Simeon in the South.[1] In the tomb of the second Aahmes with the surname Pen Nukheb, this country, in which the King fought his Eastern battles, and in which Sheruhan was situated, is designated by its general name. It is the same Zahi, or Zaha, which was before mentioned.[2] In his tomb Aahmes is made to say, 'My early life was passed in the time of the defunct King Aahmes, and of the defunct King Amenhotep I., and the defunct King Thutmes I., and the defunct King Thutmes II., and was finished in the time of Thutmes III. May he live long.' He then continues: 'I have reached a fortunate old age. I was during my existence in the favour of the king, and was rewarded by his Holiness, and was beloved by the royal court. And a divine woman gave me a further reward, the defunct great queen Makara (Hashop), because I had brought up her daughter, the great queen's daughter, the defunct Noferura.'

In the very much injured original text below we can clearly make out, in the account of the life of the same Aahmes, the following sentences, in which we wish to call attention to the name of Zahi. Aahme

[1] Joshua xix. 6. Compare my *Geographische Inschriften* II. p. 32.

[2] P. 208, near the bottom

thus speaks, '[I served] King Aahmes; in a hand-to-hand combat I gained for him in the land of Zahi ten hands. I accompanied him to the land of Kush. Living prisoners. . . . [I served] King Amenhotep I., and gained for him in a hand-to-hand combat to the north of Amoo-kahak three hands,' etc.

From this account of his life it clearly appears that the first campaign on foreign soil was against the land of Zahi, that is, against the Phœnician population of the states of the sea coast as far as the Canaanitish colonies. Aahmes contented himself with this success, since after he had driven the enemy out of Egypt and protected the eastern frontier against new invasions by a line of fortresses, he was obliged, owing to the doubtful feelings towards him of the petty kings, to restore peace and order in the interior of the empire, so that he might gradually be able to make the attempt to reduce under his supremacy the petty kings in their strongholds, even if they were favourably inclined or related to him. He allowed them to remain as under-kings in their districts, and as such they bore royal titles, and received Pharaonic homage. Thus, on the monuments by the side of Aahmes there appear as legitimate princes and 'kings' sons' the Benipu, Uotmes, Ramses, Aahmes, Sipas, and others and their double names were inclosed in a regular royal cartouche.

It was only such a treaty, founded on the concession and recognition of these rights, which enabled the enterprising Aahmes, after the death struggle for the expulsion of the foreigners, to secure himself against

insurrection and jealous opposition in the interior of the country, and to lead his veteran warriors from Patoris upon a campaign against the rebellious negroes on the southern frontier of the country.

Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire during the foreign dominion in the north, the widely spread tribes of To Chont on the Nubian districts of the south threw off the ancient yoke of the Pharaohs, and perhaps even set up an independent empire in the hot valleys near the dangerous cataracts of the Nile, which the kings of the twelfth dynasty had step by step wrung from their dusky neighbours. Aahmes, the chief of the sailors, has already related to us how Aahmes the king came out victorious from many struggles, in which a king named Tetan offered an obstinate resistance.

So now not only the two halves of the empire were again reunited under the powerful sceptre of the Pharaoh, but the south was again subjected to Egyptian supremacy. Now at last had the time of leisure arrived, which allowed the king, according to the good old custom, to prove his gratitude, as a beloved son of the Gods, by embellishing and extending their temples. During the long dominion of the foreigners 'the temples had fallen into decay since the times of our forefathers,[1] and the Pharaoh Aahmes, in the twenty-second year of his reign, gave the command to reopen the deserted quarries in the Arabian chain of mountains, to draw therefrom limestone for the building of the temples in Memphis, Thebes, and

[1] Compare page 258.

the other principal cities of the empire. According to ancient prescribed usage, which had already been practised by the scribes in the reign of one of the Amenemhats of the twelfth dynasty, the fact was brought to the knowledge of the then existing and future generations by two rock tablets in the quarries of Toora and Maassara, in the neighbourhood of the future town of the Khalifs, Cairo. The engraved words read thus:—'In the twenty-second year of the reign of King Aahmes, his Holiness gave the order to open anew the rock chambers, and there to cut out the best white stone (limestone) of the hill country (of the name of) An, for the houses of the Gods of endless years' duration, for the home of the divine Ptah in Memphis, for Amon, the gracious god in Thebes . . . and for all the other monuments, which his Holiness carried out. The stone was drawn by bullocks, which were brought and given over to the foreign people of the Fenekh.'

The fact which the inscription relates about the drawing of the stone by oxen is represented beneath it in a picture. Six pair of oxen are seen drawing a block of stone by the help of a kind of sledge.

But the building of the Egyptian temples occupied centuries. The immense imperial temple of the God Amon at Thebes, in the neighbourhood of the modern Arab village of Karnak, was begun in the middle of the third millennium B.C., but the work only reached a certain completion in the thirteenth century B.C. It is proved by the inscriptions, even to the very year and day, that the rebuilding of the great Temple of the Sun at Edfoo, which is the best preserved in all

Egypt at the present day, and stands on the site of the old town of Great Apollinopolis, occupied the architects for 180 years 3 months and 14 days, from the year 237 B.C. to the year 57 B.C. Aahmes, therefore, could not foresee the completion of what he began; and, in fact, it was reserved for his late descendants to finish according to the ancient plan the buildings commenced by their ancestor.

The name of the architect Aahmes has not been perpetuated on the walls of the Theban temples, but the rock tablets of Maassara down to the present hour have in the inscriptions preserved the memorial of him, and by the side of him the remembrance of his consort, the great heiress-queen

NOFERT-ARI-AAHMES,

that is, 'the beautiful companion of Aahmes.' Not only the rocky caverns of Toora and Maassara, within sight of Memphis, the capital of the oldest dynasties, but also a number of public monuments in the interior of the dark chambers of the tombs of the Theban Necropolis, have clearly preserved the name of this queen, surrounded by laudatory inscriptions. Long after her decease this great ancestress of the new empire was venerated as a divine being, and her image was placed as an equal among the eternal inhabitants of the Egyptian heaven. In the united assembly of the sainted first kings of the new empire, Nofert-ari-Aahmes, the divine spouse of Aahmes, sits enthroned at the head of all the Pharaonic pairs, and before all the royal children of their

race, as the specially venerated ancestress and founder of the eighteenth dynasty. As such she was called 'the daughter, sister, wife, and mother of a king,' besides her title of 'wife of the God Amon,' which expression designated the chief priestess of the tutelary God of Thebes (but not more than that). On several monuments the beautiful companion of Aahmes is represented with a black skin, and the conclusion has hence been drawn that she had to boast or to be ashamed of a negro origin. In spite of the intelligent surmises which have been put forward, on the side of the learned, to discover high state reasons from the colour of her skin, namely, that a treaty concluded by the Pharaoh Aahmes with the neighbouring negro peoples for a common effort to drive out the shepherd kings was sealed by this marriage, it seems to me that, in this supposition, two points of view have been entirely neglected. First, the dark colour is found not unfrequently employed in the paintings in the tombs of the kings at Thebes, so as to offer by the side of the other brightly coloured pictures of the Pharaohs an evident allusion to their stay in the dark night of the grave. This intention of the painter would appear all the more probable in the case of our raven-coloured queen, as she is not on every occasion represented black, but sometimes she appears on the walls of the tombs at Thebes with a yellow colour to her skin like all Egyptian women. In the second place, the negroes with their queen, allied to them (as is said) in race, owed small thanks to the house of Egypt, since Aahmes, after conquering his

enemies in the north, immediately turned his arms against the brethren and the people of his own wife, by whose help alone, it is supposed, he had been able to obtain a victory over his hereditary enemy. We must therefore consider, and for the sake of King Aahmes we must wish it to be so, that Nofertari, belonging to the Egyptian stock, represented an heiress, to whom had descended by birth and by law the right of succession to the Theban throne. As the husband of such an heiress Aahmes only occupied the second place by her side, and it was reserved to the son of them both, according to the laws of the Egyptian succession, to bear the sceptre as the legitimate full king over both the great divisions of the empire.

SER-KA-RA AMENHOTEP I. (AMENOPHIS), 1666 B.C.

According to all appearances, Amenhotep, 'the Ammonish,' at the death of his brave father was a child under age, so that his mother, Nofertari, was obliged to assume the guardianship of him, both in the palace and in the empire. When he grew up the young Pharaoh directed his views towards the south, the ancient boundary of which his deceased father had taken pains to fix anew to the advantage of the Egyptian empire. His campaign against the land of Kush, in which the brave warrior Aahmès, the son of Abana, took part in the special employment of captain of the royal ship,[1] had for its object to go beyond the country which his father had re-conquered; 'to extend the boundaries of Egypt.' He completely suc-

[1] See p. 248.

ceeded in his arms, and besides brought home a rich booty in captive negroes and cattle.

A second campaign, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to the inscriptions in the tomb of the other Aahmes with the surname of Pen-Nukheb,[1] was directed against the north, where the Libyan people of the Amoo-Kahak had shown themselves hostilely inclined towards the Egyptians. Its result once more appears 500 years later on the tablets of victory of Egyptian history under the abbreviated form Kahak. This people belonged to the great tribe of the 'light coloured' Thuhen, or, as Greeks designated them in an equally remarkable expression, the Marmarides, whose country in the times of the Greeks and Romans was known under the name of Marmarica. At that time they inhabited the northern coast of the African continent, to the west of the Egyptian Netherlands. The Greek geographers seem to have well known the old name of Amoo-Kahak, at least Ptolemy mentions the Jobakchoi[2] as a tribe in the interior country whose seats lay in the region of the Desert of the Oasis of Jupiter Amon, by the side of the Anagombroi and the Ruaditai. With this mention of the Amoo-Kahak we may remark the first traces of Libyan enmity, which under Mineptah I. assumed such a threatening appearance for the Egyptians, while before that time they

[1] See p. 251.

[2] The change of the Egyptian m into the Greek β is one of the most common occurrences in the transcription of foreign names. The Egyptians, in the time of Ptolemy, according to all probability, pronounced the name something like Jomakhak, Jobakhak.

seldom gave the Pharaohs the opportunity of extending their campaigns to the western country. However, the Na-Pa-Thuhen or Na-Pa-Thuhi 'those from the land of Thuhi' (an expression which is found in the inscriptions, and was the origin of the construction of the name of Naphtuhim in Holy Scripture), considered themselves as of the same race and as cousins of the Egyptians. In Sais, the mysterious seat of Nit, the mother of the gods, armed with bow and arrows, the Egyptian Athene, they worshipped, like the inhabitants of the land, this goddess, whose name they were accustomed to etch into the skin of their bodies. We will take the opportunity later on, in speaking of the twenty-sixth dynasty, to notice the influence which the Marmarides once exercised on the fate of Egypt.

Towards the East Amenhotep I. remained quiet. Like his predecessors he contented himself with protecting his frontiers. In the interior of the country the inscriptions bear witness to his care for building the great temple of the empire at Thebes, and individual places for the gods on the west side of the great Theban plain. After his death divine honours were accorded him.

He had by his consort Aahhotep a son, who was his heir and successor on the throne, and as such bore the name

AA-KHEPER-KA-RA THUTMES I. (THOTMOSIS), 1633 B.C.

His name Thutmes, written by the Greeks Thotmosis, means 'Thut's child.' I have already called attention

to its meaning according to its derivation. The victories and wars of this king, who for the first time undertook a campaign in the East as far as the banks of the Euphrates, constitute the principal events of his history so far as the contemporary and later monuments have transmitted them to us.

The inscription we have already noticed from the tomb of the chief of the sailors Aahmes, mentions next a campaign of King Thutmes I. against the country of Khont-Hon-nofer, or 'the nearer Hon-nofer.'[1] Perhaps I may be allowed on this occasion to offer a few words of explanation.

The lands on the South of Egypt, as well as their inhabitants, were designated in general terms as a mixture of dusky coloured races, known according to their situation, by particular names, which perhaps varied at different epochs. The countries which bordered on Egypt from the first cataract as far as Mount Barkal to the south, bore the general appellation of Ta-khont, or 'the land of Khont,' the capital of which (with its very celebrated temple of Amon) was Napata, situated at 'the holy mountain,' Mount Barkal. The name of Khont-Hon-nofer, as appears to us, comprehended on the other hand, all the countries of the African continent, and included the countries and peoples situated to the West of the Nile as far as the Libyan north coast, while the expression Kush was confined to those regions which we at the present day call the Soudan. On a tract of this enormous extent there lived an almost innumerable

[1] Compare p. 250.

mass of tribes, who belonged to an original pure ancient African stock, which we still at this day find in these countries; the black and brown negro races called Nahasi on the monuments. Among these, from the side of the sea, lighter coloured races of Semitic or Kushite origin had thrust themselves, who in the course of ages had settled in the valleys of the mountain districts between the Nile and the Red Sea, the so-called An of Ta-Khont, which a later memorial of the time of the Ptolemies calls by the name of the Senti (Sati?).

In alluding to the situation of these countries and the habitations of these peoples, we have in our works substituted for the Egyptian appellations Ta-Khont and Kush the better known names Nubia and Ethiopia, for Nahasi the term Negro, and for An the term 'Kushites.' To all these nations the Nile afforded the only great waterway, on which the hosts of the Pharaohs were transported to effect their landings at the harbours, in order to follow the enemy into the interior of their empire.

In spite of all the efforts of the inhabitants in these remote parts of the world, to beard the Egyptian kings and to destroy the monuments of the Pharaohs, so as annihilate all memorial of their tyrants, there are still traces enough left to give us information about the supremacy of the Egyptian kings in these countries. The name of Thutmes I. is not wanting here. The inscriptions on the rocks in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls of Kerman, in sight of Tombos, between the 20th and the 19th degree of latitude, have preserved

the remembrance of the great deeds of this king. The longest of them, with the date of the fifteenth day of the month Paophi, of the second year of the reign of this Pharaoh, exalts to heaven the praises of the warlike activity of the first Thutmes, and relates in a long succession the general names of the conquered peoples, who in the south as well as in the north were subjected to his supremacy. The holy letters which are engraved on the stone relate how Thutmes I. 'had taken possession of the throne of Horus, to extend the boundary marks of the Thebais,' how 'in the territory of the Theban quarter of the town called Khefti-nib-s, the inhabitants of the desert (Heru-sha), and the Aamoo and all foreign nations are obliged to work;' how 'bowed down are the northern people of Khebau-nib, and extinguished are the Agabot (Libyans);' how 'now peace is there, since the inhabitants of the southern lands were driven downwards and the northern people were driven upwards, and how they altogether subjected themselves to the king, 'how the inhabitants of the wiser country hastened to Pharaoh to bow before his throne,' how 'he smote the king of An (the Kushites), and the negroes,' how 'the An of Nubia were hewed in pieces and scattered all over their lands, and how their stink filled the valleys.' Then the inscription continues. 'The lords of the great king's house have made a frontier watch of his war people, that they might not be over-ridden by the foreign peoples; they have assembled like the panther against the bull. He remains still; he is blinded. Even to the uttermost end of his realm is the king

come; he has reached his extreme boundary through his mighty arm. He sought the struggle, but found it not, which might have offered him resistance. He opened the valleys, which had remained unknown to his forefathers, and which had never beheld the wearer of the double crown. His southern boundary mark was at the beginning of this land, the northern boundary at that water where the traveller downwards turns for his upward journey. Never was this the case under any other king.' Then the inscription concludes with the words:—'The land in its complete extent lay at the feet of the king.'

The office of a governor of the Southern land or of Kush, mention of which is henceforwards more and more frequently made, to which the real king's sons (the so-called king's sons of Kush) laid claim, was mentioned for the first time under the rule of Thutmes I. On the wall of the temple at Semne there is represented an official called Nehi, of the time of Thutmes I., who had won his spurs under Aahmes and Thutmes I. and was raised by the latter king to this new dignity.[1]

And in fact, the riches of Nubia and Ethiopia made it at all times important for the Pharaohs to secure the possession of these countries, and by governors to carry on the administration and to collect the revenues.

In the course of trade, as also in consequence of the never-ending plundering wars, which were under-

[1] See my *Geographical Inscriptions*, vol. I. p. 53, where the sources of information are mentioned.

taken against the obstinate resistance of these dusky races, there floated, coming from the south down stream, richly laden ships freighted with cattle and rare animals, panther skins, ivory, ebony, other costly woods, balsam, and sweet-smelling resin, gold and precious stones, corn, and lastly, negroes in almost countless numbers, to fill the temples and adorn the palaces of Pharaoh. In the mines of the scorching valleys of the country of Wawa there languished prisoners and negro slaves, who out of deep gullies loosened the gold sprinkled stone from the rocks, crushed it in mills, and with unspeakable pains washed out the particles o gold. Egyptian men-at-arms and foreign soldiers under their captains kept close watch, and looked after the complete fulfilling of the day's work. Where now in our day to the traveller from the banks of the river the temples filled with sand, and the towns and fortresses present themselves drearily on the miserable desolate sides of the narrow Nubian valleys, and a wretched people struggle with want and necessity, and is scarcely able to gain from the scanty soil sufficient to maintain themselves and their cattle, and the date palm alone or in groves stretches heavenward its proud head as the only representative of the cheerful green tree world and is overtopped in the background by the dark masses of rock of the long broken mountain chain, there, thirty-four centuries ago was presented to the eye of the wanderer a picture of active life.

In the villages which were placed in the neighbourhood of the temple of the country there dwelt an industrious dusky population, to whom the Egyptian

corn stores delivered the sustenance which the soil of their own home denied them. The service of the temple, and the neighbourhood of the Egyptian fortresses and the frontier guards of Pharaoh, gave them profit enough 'to support themselves and their cattle.' The sailor folk, well experienced in the dangerous cataracts of the Upper Nile, exercised their calling in the service of the king's generals and merchants. These also gained the reward of their labour. On feast days the crowd, bent on piety or amusement, flocked to the stone-built houses of the Gods, or to the grottos of the divine ones, and enjoyed themselves in the pomp of 'the Holy Fathers,' cheerfully performing the duty of carrying on their shoulders, or in their hands, the golden barks with their divine inhabitants, and exhibiting them to the devout inhabitants of the country surrounding the Temple. If Pharaoh reached the Nubian country in his richly-adorned Nile ship, in whose sails of costly byssus the north wind blew with full power during his day journey upwards, and at night brought to his ship in the harbours, there was no end to the wonder and admiration, the joy and the hurras, for on the part of the king and his exalted courtiers there were rich and gracious gifts to the inhabitants. It answered well to the kings to leave behind them generous presents, so that the inhabitants might learn that the Pharaoh was the father and benefactor of his subjects. These dusky-coloured men might well sing that wonderful song of praise to the king which a rock grotto at Silsilis has preserved for us down to the present day, and

the literal translation of which is contained in the following lines:—

Hail to thee! king of Egypt!
Sun of the foreign peoples!
Thy name is great
In the land of Kush,
Where thy war cry resounded thro'
The dwellings of men.
Great is thy power
Thou beneficent ruler.
It puts to shame the peoples.
The Pharaoh! Life, salvation health to him!
He is a shining sun.

After Thutmes I., in the first year of his government, had undertaken his campaign by water against Nubia and Kush, and had fixed the boundaries of his empire to the south, and had returned laden with a rich booty to his home in Egypt, it seemed to him that the favourable moment had arrived to send forward his experienced troops to the east, to attack in their own homes the ancient hereditary enemies of the country, the hated inhabitants of Western Asia. The great war of vengeance against Asia now began, which for nearly 500 years was carried on by succeeding Pharaohs with almost uninterrupted good fortune. Before we follow the wars of King Thutmes, it appears fitting carefully to survey the theatre of the coming important campaigns, and to become acquainted with the peoples and cities whose names from this time forward will constantly come under our notice.

We will leave to the north in our imaginary wandering the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, and the hated

fortress of Hawar, the stronghold of the tyranny of disgraceful memory, and travel on the old royal road along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, the well-known 'Road of the Philistines' of the writings, the road Zahi of the monuments. We now meet on our journey the races of the wandering Shasu, whose chief seats were the rocky chain of mountains of Aduma, the Edom of the Scriptures. Here inhabited, 'like foxes in their holes,' the Bedouins of antiquity, who had evil intentions towards the pilgrims, while their settled kindred tribes at the angle of the sea-coast in their well-fortified towns were generally the allies of the Egyptians. Their three chief places, Harincola (the Rhinocolura of the ancients), Anaugas (Ienysus), and Inu'amoo (Jamnia?), formed a sort of Tripolis. After the fortress of Sharuhan the road passed Gazatoo (the Gaza of the ancients). Along the border of the sea the Phœnician coast stretched like a long band, the land of Khalu, or Kharu of Egyptian tradition, the 'Hinder-land' (Akharru of the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions). Askalon, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, were the principal places on the royal road, along which the sea was always in sight, till in the valley of Eleutherus, at the northern slope of Libanon, the ancient road took an eastern direction, so as to pass in the neighbourhood of the fortress and river of Shabatoon (the river Sabbaticus of the ancients), and in the environs of the mountain fortress Aranam (the Mariamne of the Greeks and Romans?), to debouche in the wide plain of Kadesh at Arunata (Orontes), and thence to lead into the heart of the country of the Amori (Amorites).

Another much frequented royal road, dangerous from its narrow passes and forests, led from Gaza in a northern direction through the interior country along the whole length of the course of the Jurduna (Jordan) from the south to the north. The long valley of the Leontes and Orontes, between the Libanon and Antilibanon, had to be passed to get from this side to Kadesh in the land of the Amorites.

Thamask (Damascus), and the towns of the so-called hollow, or Cœle-Syria, were left to the east, on the other side of Antilibanon, lying on the right hand. Khaleb (Khalybon), and Qir-Kamosh, 'the town of Kamosh' (the Karchemish of Holy Scripture), formed the last great resting-places of the road in Syria proper, which the broad water road of the Euphrates bounded on the east, while on the west the Amanish chain of mountains and the spurs of the Taurus range ('the four supports of Heaven' in the language of the Egyptian monuments) seemed to oppose a limit to the further march of a great army.

The whole of the land we have above described, which we know from the histories of Biblical-classical antiquity under the names of Palestine, Cœle-Syria, and Syria, bore in the inscriptions the appellation of Ruthen-hir, Upper Ruthen (or Luthen). It was divided into a number of small kingdoms, the names of which are commonly connected with one well-fortified capital, and were inhabited by races with the special designations of which the enquiries of the learned are now eagerly occupied. The great people of the Khita (the Hethites of Scripture) occupies a distinguished place

among them, while the kingdoms of Qirkamosh, Kadesh, Megiddo, were looked upon as the most important places for defence and attack, and as places of assembling for the allied kings. They played, in this respect, an important part in those times, when Thutmes I. was preparing his campaign about the middle of the seventeenth century before our era.

The Egyptian inscriptions of this period frequently mention the name of Naharina, or Naharain, to designate a country in the neighbourhood of the Upper Ruthen country which we have mentioned above. In spite of all that may be said to the contrary thus much must be considered as certain, that this Egyptian word corresponded to a foreign expression which we cannot hesitate to recognise in the Semitic Naharain 'Double-stream-land.' Scripture mentions an Aram Naharain, 'Aram of the two rivers,' in which Aram, that is, Syria Aramæa, is the principal designation. The interpreters understand by this the great country of Mesopotamia, situated between the two rivers Euphrates and Tigris. We will not pass over in silence that, according to the information of a learned traveller who is a friend of ours, the Arabs still at the present day are accustomed to call the fertile country to the west of Damascus, which is watered by many rivers, by the very same name of Naharain. Here in the land of Naharain lay without doubt the countries of Assur and Babel, the kings and productions of which we shall further on become acquainted with from the tablets of victory of the third Thutmes.

Thutmes I. had fixed as the aim of his campaign

against the East the far distant land of Naharain. The two Aahmes, cotemporaries and bearing the same name, with whom we are already acquainted, mention with complete agreement in their traditions this campaign of vengeance, which the king undertook in order 'to wash his heart,' that is, in a suitable manner to cool his anger on the inhabitants of the land of the Ruthen, at the northern end of which lay Naharain, and to wreak vengeance on them for injuries formerly suffered. He obtained a victory, and numerous prisoners, besides horses and chariots of war, which he brought home as a much desired booty to his Egyptian home.

It is not without importance as a precious means for a right understanding of the civilisation which then prevailed among the populations of Western Asia, to observe that the Egyptians took pains to bring home as booty of war, particularly such articles as they hitherto knew but slightly or were wholly unacquainted with, or the acquisition of which was extremely difficult. This inclination, which finds its favourite expression in the inscriptions is principally explained by the desire of learning and curiosity of the ancient Egyptians (and we may add that their descendants at the present day resemble them in this, as we can ourselves testify after an experience of nearly fifteen years among them), which made them direct the greatest attention to productions of the soil and of art, and even to the world of animals and of plants.

Of such childlike simplicity also were the representations which they delighted at times to depict on

the walls of their temples, and so strange are the descriptions which they mention in their tablets of victory, that there always rises in us an earnest thankfulness for this deep love of knowledge, which recognised the importance and the value of any peculiar excellence and beauty even in foreign things, and which sought to make them their own. Such were the beginnings of science and art which thirty-four centuries before our time comprehended the whole then known world, and exercised its beneficial influence on the development of civilisation and the cultivation of artistic taste. By a happy system of interchange the best of everything was obtained on the shores of the Nile and in the countries as far as the banks of the Euphrates. Whatever reflecting man and the hand of the cunning master could supply for the needs of humanity, this great intercourse of nations which was then just beginning, although for the present on the war path, handed from country to country as a splendid inheritance for future generations.

Trade and art went hand in hand. The descriptions of the chariots of war, which blazed with gold and silver, of weapons, from beautiful coats of mail to richly covered lances, of gold, silver, and brazen vases, of household furniture down to tent poles and footstools, and of a thousand small objects, which appear as necessities to civilised men, allow us to cast a deep glance into the complete artistic skilfulness and into the direction of the taste of these early ages of history, and must ensure our deepest respect and admiration, for the performances of the children of earth at that day.

Even in the conduct of war their Asiatic neighbours exercised an influence on the Egyptian military administration. The division and arrangement of the troops, and the position of the leaders, became carefully fixed from the common soldier to the highest general. The chariots of war, with their pairs of horses, henceforth take a prominent place in the Egyptian order of battle. The horse is introduced into the valley of the Nile under his Semitic name Sus, and the chariot also finds an entrance there as a means of satisfying the requirements of distinguished personages. In the tomb of the noble Pahir, the son of the brave 'warrior' Aahmes at El-Kab, there appears among numerous representations of common life, a picture of a pair of horses with a chariot. The coachman, designated by the Semitic name of kasan, standing behind the chariot, holds tight the reins of the horses, in expectation of his lord 'who loves the clever horses.' This is an equally remarkable and instructive picture on the introduction of the horses and chariots into the land of the Egyptians, even so far as the southern country of Patoris, in the further part of which the before-mentioned ancient town of El-Kab was situated.

The king returned victorious from his campaign against 'the land of the double-streams,' Naharain. Covered with glory and laden with booty he entered the capital of his empire, Thebes. To speak in the language of the inscriptions, 'he had washed his heart.' As a lasting mark of remembrance of his campaign as far as the land of the rivers he had erected a tablet of victory by the side of which his greater son Thutmes

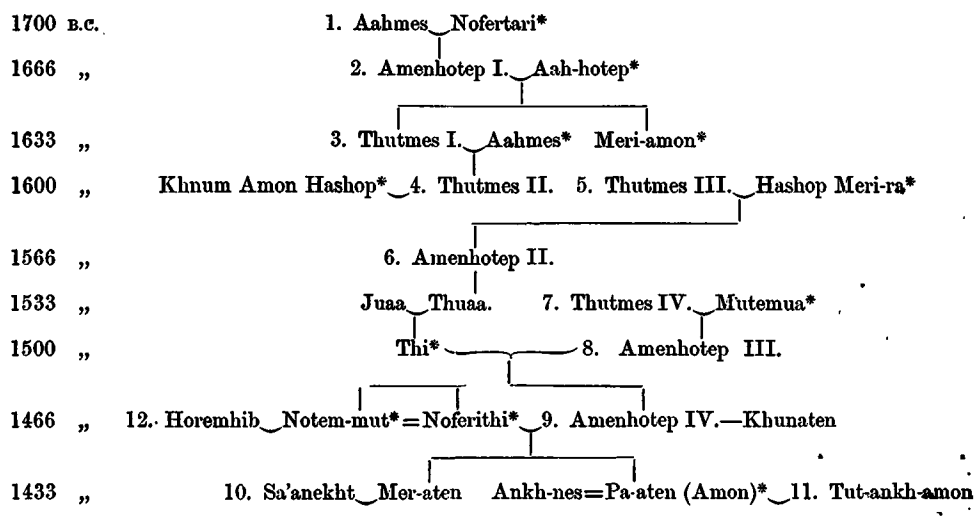
III. at a later period erected a second memorial. This expressly states the official reports of the victories of the latter king.

After returning to Thebes Thutmes I. did not delay to show his thankfulness to the deities of the land who had protected him, and before all others to Amon, the god of the town of Thebes, at whose chief temple on the site of the Karnak of the present day he continued the works begun by his forefathers Usurtasen, and later by Aahmes.

The temple was at that time small, and surrounded by a wall with rows of chambers built against it. Before this, that is, on the western side, a front was added with massive buildings and rows of columns, while before these, two granite obelisks covered with inscriptions, served as speaking witnesses of the might of the king and his piety towards the gods.

It seems that Thutmes I. left this earthly scene after a comparatively short life and reign. With this agrees the fact that the two Aahmes, as also Nahi the governor of the southern country, were able faithfully to serve their country under the first four Pharaohs of this dynasty. Thutmes I. left behind him three children, with which his wife and sister, the Queen Aahmes, a emale 'moon child' had presented him, namely, an heiress daughter, the beloved child of her father, the bold and clever Hashop, and two sons who both bore the name of their father Thutmes. The elder one was already old enough to carry on the government alone, while the other one was a very young child, whose bringing up was entrusted to the care of his elder

THE GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE PHARAOHS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY, AND OF THEIR WIVES.


1700 B.C.
1. Aahmes ⌣ Nofertari*
1666 „
2. Amenhotep I. ⌣ Aah-hotep*
1633 „
3. Thutmes I. ⌣ Aahmes* Meri-amon*
1600 „
Khnum Amon Hashop* ⌣ 4. Thutmes II. 5. Thutmes III. ⌣ Hashop Meri-ra*
1566 „
6. Amenhotep II.
1533 „
Juaa ⌣ Thuaa. 7. Thutmes IV. ⌣ Mutemua*
1500 „
Thi* 8. Amenhotep III.
1466 „
12. Horemhib ⌣ Notem-mut* = Noferithi* ⌣ 9. Amenhotep IV.—Khunaten
1433 „
10. Sa'anekht ⌣ Mer-aten Ankh-nes = Pa-aten (Amon)* ⌣ 11. Tut-ankh-amon

sister. The table on the preceding page will best explain the relationship of these kings and their wives, and likewise of those who will be hereafter named.

AA-KHEPER-EN-RA, THUTMES II. 1600 B.C.

After the death of his father, who with the widowed queen enjoyed divine honours among future generations, the elder son, Thutmes II., ascended the vacant throne, not without exciting the jealousy of his energetic sister, Hashop. She had been the favourite of the late king and was superior to her brother both in courage and capacity, and she left nothing untried to bring the royal power into her own hands or under her control. It is difficult at this day to determine if she took only legitimate means to accomplish her ends; but we know the fact that she found a hostile reception, since, after the death of her elder brother, she, with the greatest diligence, erased his name from the monuments, a clear proof of the unfriendly feeling which existed between the brother and sister. As the heiress whom already in his life-time her father had allowed to take part in the affairs of government, she felt herself strengthened by the influence of her position and her birth, as her mother had occupied a very prominent place, being a daughter of a legitimate king of the old race.

Thotmosis II. reigned only a short time in conjunction with his sister, when an early death carried him off from the circle of the living to the subterranean realm of King Osiris. As to his foreign activity we

can only be certain of one successfully conducted campaign against the southern peoples, and of another against his neighbours on the eastern boundary in the north of the Sinaitic peninsula. The Shasu-Arabs had sought to undertake an attack against the Egyptian Netherlands. The Egyptian army, well experienced in war, must have had no great difficulty in driving back from their frontiers troublesome and restless rather than dangerous neighbours, who lusted after the full granaries of the Pharaohs, and in pursuing them back to their native caves in the mountains of Edom.

A rock tablet, which, in the neighbourhood of the town of Assooan, announces to the wayfarer the relations of the king to the southern countries, commences with the date of the 8th of Paophi, in the first year of his reign. The contents, without mentioning the names of the conquered peoples, and other particulars of the war, gives us in the most general way a mere collection of official modes of speech and commonplaces. 'To him came the Asiatics and the Kushite An,' 'his frontier to the south is at the summit of the world, and his north frontier at the farthest end of Asia—nobody can withstand him,' 'conquered are the An (Kushites) of Khont-Hon-nofer' (Africa); such are the confusing expressions under which the simple fact is hidden that, under the second Thutmes, the South acknowledged the Egyptian supremacy. Some distinguished Court official, who was sent to Nubia 'to travel,' perhaps gave utterance to his 'Southern' feelings of respect for the young king by means of these inscriptions on the rock.

In the interior the king and his ambitious consort were greatly occupied with the habitations of the Gods. The imperial capital had particular care bestowed upon it, and on the eastern (Api) and the western bank(Khefti-Nibs)[1] of the Nile the great temple of Amon received the steady attention of the king. On the left bank of the stream the buildings on the site of the modern Medinet-Abu (which bore the particular name of 'the mountain of Neb-ankh,' that is, the coffin mountain, on account of the tombs which are there), and those in the so-called Der-el-bahri, particularly exhibit the double names of the royal brother and sister.

In the last-named place, at the south-western corner of the Theban valley, the dazzling white limestone rocks of the finest grain like marble rise abrupt and steep from the plain. On the left hand, there where the hill of Qurna rises from the plain, and on the right hand, where the ruined tombs of the time of the twelfth dynasty are situated, and also between them on the rocky ground before the Der-el-bahri, the rock is bored in thousands of holes and deep cuts, which lead to the chambers of the dead. In this solitary, gloomy spot, which seems made for eternal repose, and yet within sight of the great temple of Amon, which stands on the further side of the stream, in the midst of cheerful green meadows, in the thought of the king a grand rock tomb was to be constructed in memory of the departed princes of his house, the like of which should not be found again in Egypt. While the steep wall of rock was pierced with grottoes in the shape of

[1] Compare p. 285.

vast halls, which served as sacrificial chambers to the still undiscovered tombs of the families of the race of Thutmes, richly adorned with variegated representations and inscriptions of pious import, there rose in front a giant temple of elaborate construction in the form of a building with a long extended front, approached by broad and truly regal steps, which from stage to stage descended to the plain. A holy avenue (the so-called Dromos), on each side bordered by sphinxes in repose, led lastly in an easterly direction as far as to the holy river. This was the splendid erection of Queen Hashop, which called to mind the wonderful buildings on the banks of the Euphrates, also in the form of stages, which have been so often described.

In the subterranean chambers, which have not yet been cleared, in the interior of the steep rock wall, and perhaps in connection with the tombs of the kings which lie behind them in the valley of Biban-el-Moluk, were placed the bodies of Thutmes I. and his wife and sister Queen Aahmes. Here reposed near their parents the Princess Kheb-nofru-ra, who died young, and by her side the King Thutmes II., and his restless, ambitious consort Hashop, and lastly the Pharaoh Thutmes III., who closed the line of the mighty dead. Those named are the chief representatives of this race, as they still meet our eyes in name and description in the inscriptions which have been preserved.

Scarcely had the royal brother and husband of Hashop closed his eyes when the proud queen threw aside her woman's veil, and appeared in all the splendour of a Pharaoh as a born king. Then she laid aside

her woman's dress, clothed herself in man's attire, and adorned herself with the crown and insignia of royalty. Then the proud lady seated herself as sole ruler on the throne, with her younger brother Thutmes III. at her feet, a minor, the true king of the land, to whom belonged by right the sceptre and crown. But Hashop was enrolled in the king's book of the priests, and her name was altered and extended to

MA-KA-RA KHNUM-AMON-HASHOP.

The first vindictive deed of the new woman-king shows her hatred and animosity against her deceased brother and husband, whose memory the Egyptian Semiramis sought to blot out in every conceivable manner, as we have already related. She only venerated her beloved father, while she, with all diligence, erased the name of her deceased brother from the monuments they had erected together, and replaced it by her own name or that of her father.

The works of the buildings which had been planned were now continued on a great scale, and with eager diligence, and before all others the stage temple of Der-el-bahri was carried to completion by untiring efforts.

The friend and the architect of the queen was an Egyptian of intelligent mind and skilful hand, but without the fame of proud ancestors, as his own monument preserved to this day in Berlin testifies. He was named Semnut, the son of Rames and of Ha-nofer. After his death his queen raised to him a stone memorial 'as a mark of gratitude,' with his portrait in an attitude

of repose in black granite, and on the right shoulder was this short but significant inscription: Nen kem em an apu, 'there were not found in writing his ancestors.' The clever architect is in the inscription introduced as himself speaking, and he wisely abstains from mentioning the woman-king otherwise than as 'he,' since the omnipotent will of the queen thus ordered it. Semnut speaks thus: 'I was a distinguished man, who loved him, and who gained for himself the admiration of the lord of the country. He made me great in the country; he named me as the chief steward of his house, and as the governor of the whole country. So I have become the first of the first, and the clerk of the works of all the clerks of the works.' The inscription ends with the words, 'I have lived under the lord of the country, the King Ma-ka-ra; may he live for ever.'

Whatever may have been the situation and position of our Semnut with regard to the queen, one thing is certain, that his works have outlived him, and are a credit to the master. The buildings of Hashop, about which we have before spoken at length, are some of the most tasteful, most complete and brilliant creations which ever left the hands of the Egyptian artists. They are specimens of the matchless splendour of Egyptian art history, whether we consider the treatment of the stone, as to form and proportion, or the rich coloured decoration. Even in their ruin, a melancholy heap of works destroyed and thrown together, these remains exercise a wonderful charm, even on the experienced son of the new time.

This artistically-minded queen was not satisfied with

the enjoyment and the pleasure of the splendid creations in stone of the Egyptian masters in every kind of art; her desire for glory, and a certain adventurous direction of her mind, caused her glance to wander in the far distance towards the wonder-land of the East and the distant shores of the Indian Ocean. She must have a voyage of discovery carried out, such as the world had never yet seen, to the land of Punt, the birthplace of many marvellous stories of Egyptian and foreign seafaring men.

The walls of the Stage Temple of Queen Hashop, which were turned towards the East, were covered with coloured pictures and inscriptions. Among the most important and interesting still remaining, are those which relate to this expedition by sea to the Balsam land of Punt, so celebrated in scientific annals. Although much of this noble work has been destroyed by the ill-will of time and men, fate has been so kind as to leave us among the ruins a complete set of true pictures of this wonderful expedition, the journey to the Ophir of the Egyptians, the historical importance of which was first recognised by Professor Dümichen. Under the guidance of the inscriptions and the pictures we will endeavour, in the following account, to portray the history of this expedition.

Incited thereto by the oracle of the chief Theban god Amon, the Queen of Egypt determined to undertake a voyage of discovery to the unknown Balsam land of Punt. The Egyptians were acquainted from hearsay with the wonders of this distant land on the coast of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, the home of

the true incense so much coveted for the service of the temples, and many other precious productions of the soil.

A great number of seagoing ships were prepared for the long and dangerous voyage. They were manned by able seamen and warriors. A profusion of friendly gifts were not forgotten. A high official accompanied the expedition as the royal ambassador, and noble princes and lords in the service of their lady the queen accompanied the bold leader.

The inscriptions do not state how long the sea voyage lasted. When the fleet had reached its destination, it landed on the coast of the 'incense mountain cut into terraces,' in the vicinity of Cape Guardafui, the Arômata Akrôn, or Arômaton Acrôterium, of the Greek historians. Wonder upon wonder met the astonished eyes of the new-comers, to whom an unknown world in all its appearances offered itself. Men never seen before, the inhabitants of this 'divine earth,' showed themselves on the coast not less astonished than the Egyptians on their side at the spectacle, never witnessed before, of the landing of the strangers. They lived on stages built on piles, in little round-shaped huts, to the entrance of which a ladder showed the way under the shade of cocoa-nut palms laden with fruit, and splendid incense-bearing trees, in the boughs of which strange birds rocked themselves, and at the feet of which stately herds of cattle peacefully reposed.

After the first astonishment was over, and peaceful assurances were exchanged with the princes of the foreign land, and friendly gifts were exchanged, then, as the inscription literally states, 'the royal ambassador

arrived with the warriors who were in his train. Each of the princes of the land of Punt approached, with rich and costly gifts as offerings to the holiness of Hathor, the lady of Punt, whose living image the (Egyptian) queen is. The accompanying picture shows us the royal ambassador, accompanied by his warriors, as he is in the act of receiving a number of chains, rings, hatchets, and daggers, the presents of 'the Prince of Punt Parihu,' who, accompanied by his wife Ari . . . his two sons, and his young daughter, welcome with raised-up arms the royal ambassador. An ass serves the fat wife to ride upon. The words by the side are, when translated, 'Here are arrived the Princes of the land of Punt, as they bow themselves to greet and to receive these warriors of the queen. They praise and exalt the King of the Gods, Amon-ra.' As appears clearly from the continuation of the inscription, they expressed their suitable astonishment that it was possible for foreign men to reach such a distant and unknown country, not without adding the prayer that the queen, the mighty ruler of Egypt, would respect their peace and freedom.

The royal ambassador, prepared to take account of the peaceful desires of the Princes of Punt, on his side put forward the condition that the country of Punt should be subjected to the supremacy of the Queen of Egypt, as also that there should be delivered to him some of the productions of the country, and particularly incense, as a present for the royal court.

The ambassador, and the men who accompanied him, had in the meantime pitched their tents on the

seashore. That this must have been with the friendly intention to welcome the Princes of Punt, whose favourable answer must have been received, and to entertain them hospitably as the friends of the Egyptian queen, is shown in the clearest manner by the inscription, which is added to the pictorial representation, and which runs thus:—

'Pitched was the camp of tents of the royal ambassador and his warriors in the neighbourhood of the balsam terraced mountain of the country of Punt, on the shore of the great sea, to receive the princes of this country. There was offered to them bread, mead, wine, meat, dried fruits, and everything else, from the country of Tomera (Egypt), just as the royal court had ordered.'

The chief representative of the Princes of Punt, the Parihu we have mentioned, accompanied by his enormously fat wife, did not keep them waiting, since 'the Prince of Punt came, bringing with him the presents, to the shore of the Great Sea.' Golden rings, ivory, and a great heap of precious balsams, were laid out before the tents. Loaded inhabitants of Punt, and with their drivers loaded asses, and herds of cattle behind, showed clearly the willingness of the natives to subject themselves to the supremacy of the double crown. The ambassador of the queen 'took the gifts of the Princes of Punt in his keeping;' peace and friendship was by this cemented, and everything prepared for the return home.

The rich treasures in stones, and plants, and animals, which Punt had cheerfully offered to the Egyp-

tians, were increased by a singular addition, which presents to us the first and oldest attempt of which we have any record to transplant a tree to a foreign soil. Thirty-one incense trees, well packed in tubs, were dragged on board by the natives. Six men were told off for the burden of each tree. When all the products of the land stood ready for embarkation, the difficult work of packing and loading commenced. The picture represents to us in a true and lively manner the labours of the sailors and of the natives. The inscription beside it explains the very clear representation on the stone wall. 'Laden was the cargo to the uttermost with all the wonderful products of the land of Punt, and with the different nut-woods of the divine land, and with heaps of the resin of incense, with fresh incense trees, with ebony, objects in ivory inlaid with much gold from the land of the Amoo, with sweet woods, Khesit-wood, with Ahem-incense, with holy resin, and paint for the eyes, with dog-headed apes, with long-tailed monkeys and greyhounds, with leopard skins, and with the natives of the country, together with their children. Never was the like brought to any queen (of Egypt) since the world stands.'

Soon the ship was set in motion. Sails and oars helped alternately. The incense-trees stood on the deck between the chests and sacks; to the great amusement of the seafarers the apes sprung about here and there in full freedom among the sails. The inscription which is added to the picture of this informs us that among the people who travelled with them were even princes of the land of Punt. These are the very words:—

'They betake themselves to the ship, they return happily home, they take the road to Thebes in joyfulness of heart, the warriors of the lord of the land. The princes are with them from this country. What they bring is of a kind the like of which was never brought to any other king.'

The return of the seafarers, and their arrival in Thebes must, it is evident, have been celebrated as a great event. Egypt had, in the most peaceable way, become possessed of a newly-discovered region in the East, and with it secured to herself the precious productions of the soil of this Eldorado. In a grand ceremonial the queen received the prince of that foreign country, who in reverence flung himself on the ground before her who had now become his queen, and in the usual court language in his address of ceremony designated her as 'the Queen of Tomera, and the sun which shines like the disk of Heaven,' not without at the same time addressing her as 'his queen,' and as 'the ruler of Punt.' 'They have now become the subjects of her holiness.' In a long procession the beasts and the other natural productions were brought before the queen, and even the heavy incense trees were brought to the presence of the lady.

In consequence of the fortunate result of the Egyptian voyage, which carried the Egyptian name to the coast lands of Africa and opened new sources of wealth, it was proper and natural to dedicate the precious treasures which had been brought home to the oracle-giving Amon, the first originator of the expedition, and to institute grand festivals in honour of the

God. New pictures and inscriptions leave upon this point not the slightest doubt.

The woman-king appeared in the fullest royal attire, distinguished by the most honourable marks of her royal dignity, before the great God, to offer to him the royal thanks, both in word and deed, by the dedication and presentation of all the treasures which had been brought home from the far southern world. The productions of Punt were heaped up in groups, and the incense trees planted in the Egyptian soil. Giraffes, leopards, hunting leopards, bulls, leopard skins, gold, copper, ebony and other woods, fit for building purposes, the so-called Amoo-sticks, ivory, paint for the eyes, kash (?), and whole woods of precious incense resin, were brought to the God, and the number and measure of them inscribed on the temple books. The last-named action, in a symbolical manner, was shown in the representation by the fact that Thut, the divine temple scribe, and the Goddess of the books of inventory, wrote down on the roll of a book the pieces weighed out and counted over by Hor. 'The true and just scales of Thut, which the queen, for her father, the Theban Amon, has had prepared, in order to weigh out silver, gold, blue stone, green stone, and all other precious stones'—thus run the words above the picture of the scales. On the one scale there rest thirty-one rings of precious metal, on the other scale the 'Ten,' or 'pound' weights, in the shape of a reclining ox, and the smaller weights in the form of an ox's head and a wild goat. The momentary occupation of Hor, 'the watcher of the scale,' is designated as 'the

weighing out of the gold and silver and copper, and the works of the inhabitants of the South, for the Theban God Amon.'

In the picture below this the spectator sees two large heaps of precious incense resin. Four men are occupied in counting these out with a hollow measure. An inscription above says, 'very active measuring of the fresh incense for the Theban God Amon, from the most wonderful of lands, that of Punt, the most splendid of the divine lands.'

With the action above described, according to the contents of a long inscription placed above, there was connected a great feast in honour of Amon. The queen herself was adorned in the richest manner; a spotted leopard-skin with copper clasps covered her shoulders, and her limbs were perfumed like fresh fallen dew. All the inhabitants gave utterance to their festive thoughts in song, and music, and shouts of joy.

The brother of the queen, designated by his court name of that epoch, as King Men-kheper-ka-ra, had the honour of presenting an offering of the best incense to the holy bark of Amon, which was borne in holiday procession on the shoulders of the priests of his service. A long procession of priests, court officials, warriors and people, approached the temple of the divine protector of Thebes, the holy men with offerings for the altar, the warriors with peaceful branches in their hands; meat and drink offerings were prepared, and cries of joy resounded from the lips of the delighted multitude.

Closely connected with these events, which are

portrayed in so eloquent a manner both by picture and words on the ruins of what has been preserved at Der-el-bahri, comes the festive dedication and presentation of the once splendid stage temple to the tutelary deities of the temple, Amon and the heavenly Hathor, of whom the royal brother and sister, the then lords of Egypt, served as the representatives on earth.

Numerous ships of the king and of his nobles, thickly manned by the lords of the court, and by warriors in full array, and loaded with presents for the queen and for the king, directed their voyage to Thebes, the city of the conquerors, to take part in the festival of the dedication of the temple of Amon-seru, in which henceforth Amon and the heavenly Hathor were to be enthroned. A shout of joy filled the air when they landed at Thebes. Already from a distance were the offerings and presents for the rulers exhibited to the curious multitude on the bank, who raised a loud cry of 'God save the King!' For a second time, as is literally stated, the new birth of the splendid city of Thebes was celebrated. The landing took place. To the sound of drums and the clang of trumpets the well-appointed warriors, the crew of the royal ship, the armed bands of Thebes, bearing branches the sign of peace in their hands, and the young warriors of all the country, including Ethiopia, marched in order before the astonished multitude, who enjoyed the war-like dances of the Libyan Tamahu, or admired the wild forms of the leopards brought home in the train of the warriors. The leaders at the head conducted the procession to the temple, where the usual sacrifices

in honour of the divinities were offered up with prayers and supplications.

It must have been a source of the highest satisfaction to the vain queen, in such undertakings, to experience to its fullest extent the pride of kingly power. Without being able to emulate a man by heroic deeds in the turmoil of battle, she sought 'to be a source of wonder to men, and a secret to the Gods alone,' as the inscriptions (see further on) announce, and to perpetuate in another way the glory of her existence, and of her name, by peaceful undertakings, the extent and importance of which were sure to secure her expectations from posterity. Thutmes, her young brother, was shut out from all participation in the affairs of the empire, and passed, as child and boy, his youth in seclusion, as we shall see further on, far from the eyes of his ambitious royal sister, without state or official position, in Buto, in those marshy districts which were considered as places of refuge for banished or exiled kings. Perhaps Isis herself had kept her son here concealed, in order to withdraw the future king of Egypt from the snares of the archfiend Set-Typhon.

Yet he was born to great deeds, which were one day to procure him immortal fame, and raise his name above every name in Egyptian history.

Hashop's reign was neither disturbed nor weakened by external enemies. In the east the Canaanitish Kings left Egypt undisturbed, and rather showed their friendly feeling by sending the tribute imposed upon them. In the south, in the Nubian districts, the governors discharged their duties, and delivered to the court the

products of the soil and of the mountains. Already, under Thutmes II., a certain Son had been sent to the southern districts, whose name and title the walls of the temple of Semne have immortalised.

In the meantime the child Thutmes grew up to be a young man, and, according to the Egyptian laws, claimed a share of the throne and empire. This could not be denied him by his sister, who was now advancing in years, and so she delayed no longer, when forced to do so, to admit the rightful heir of his house and of the throne of Egypt to be King with her and to place him beside her on the throne. With deep rancour in his heart the third Thutmes assumed the royal office by the side of his jealous and ambitious sister.

His first exercise of kingly power bears the date of the year 15, on the 27th day of the month Pachons. We shall have to return to it later. A rock tablet of the Sinaitic mountain valley of Wady Magharah exhibits the double rulers together, Hashop and Thutmes III., who present their offerings and allegiance to the protecting deities of the district, to the Eastern Supet and the heavenly Hathor. The inscription bears at its head the date of the year 16.

In the preceding year of their government a work was begun, which claims our attention for two reasons. On the base of one of the most beautiful obelisks of rose granite, by which the Queen sought to adorn the great imperial temple at Karnak, so far as it was completed up to that time, there is an historical statement, the chief import of which is as follows:—The woman-king, to translate by an approximative expression the

language of the Queen, who speaks of herself from a male point of view, had cut out this great work in the southern part of the country, in the granite quarries of the 'red mountain,' of the inscriptions, in the neighbourhood of Assooan, and had raised it in its place in the inconceivably short space of seven months, namely, from the first day of the month Mechir of the fifteenth year of her reign to the last of Mesori of the following sixteenth year. If such was the case, the commencement of the first year of her reign must have fallen in the time between the two months; consequently, the reckoning of the regal year does not begin after the hitherto received date of the first day of that year, in which she ascended the throne as King.

This acceptation of the real, and not the imaginary day of her accession to the throne is fully confirmed by a date from the reign of Thutmes III. As we shall see afterwards, according to the authority of the monuments, Thutmes ascended the throne of Egypt on the fourth day of the month Pachons.

Agreeing with this, the great tablet of Victory of Karnak announces that the same King, in the twenty-second year of his reign, in the month Pharmuthi (the day of the month is unfortunately destroyed), left the Egyptian frontier to arrive at Gaza a few days later, in the twenty-third year, on the day of his coronation, the fourth of Pachons. Here there can be neither a wrong reading nor error.

According to the inscription in the tomb of his cotemporary, the Adon of the warriors, Amenemheb, about whom we shall give a more detailed account

further on, the king died on the last day of the month Phamenoth, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign. Thutmes, according to this statement, had reigned fifty-three years and eleven months and four days, that is, including the years of the reign of his sister, whose sole reign appeared to him unjust and illegal. With this length of reign, the Manethonian account of twelve years for the double reign of the two together, and twenty-six years for his reign alone, in no way agrees. There must be a wrong mark inserted in the mutilated copies of the Manethonian rows of figures. The date on the base of the obelisk named above is still completely clear. The year fifteen concludes with the third Pachons; with the fourth day of the same month began the sixteenth year. Thus they laboured at this work for three months and three days of the fifteenth year, and three months and twenty-seven days of the sixteenth year: in the whole, therefore, just seven full months.

Whether Thutmes III., after reaching manhood, drove his sister by force from the throne, or whether she slept in Osiris, we cannot tell, because the monuments are silent. We greet with pleasure his sole reign over the two great divisions of the empire. He bore in his double cartouche the name of

MEN-KHEPER-RA, THUTMES III. 1600 B.C.

and proved to be the Alexander the Great of Egyptian history.

During the relatively long period of a reign of fifty-three years eleven months and four days this ener-

getic king was able to accomplish much that was important for his country.

That Thutmes III. did all this is proved by a whole world of monuments which he left behind him, dating from the time of his reign, although they are now heaped together in their last ruins. The riches in works of all kind can scarcely be counted, from the largest temples to the tiny Scarabæi, which all bear the name of the greatest king of those times.

Henceforward an important field is opened to our enquiries. Egypt itself forms the central point of a world-intercourse, which, carried on by trade and war, affords us an unexpected view into the past and into the life of the peoples of this very old period of the world. We shall see how the king undertook to measure himself in battle with the mightiest empire of the old time, and how he carried his arms to the extremest frontiers of the then known earth, whether it were in Asia towards the east, or in Libya towards the west, or in the south as far as the heart of Africa. We shall learn by name, and number, by quantity and weight, a complete list of the productions of foreign countries, some of them under their own native appellations, both those which the soil of the earth produced, and those which the trained hand of the skilful workman knew how to fashion for the wants of war or peace. We are astonished at the countless riches, which were laid up in the treasuries of the temples. These same inscriptions on the stone walls of the temples, which, then in a better state of preservation, the wise men of Thebes once read and explained to the Roman

Emperor Germanicus, on his visit to the old Amon city, still to this day confirm to us what Tacitus has related. 'There was read'—thus states the Roman historian—'the tributes imposed on the nations, the weight in silver and gold, the number of weapons and horses, and the presents in ivory and sweet scents given to the temples, how much wheat and effects of all sorts each nation had to provide, in truth not less great than what at present the power of the Parthian or the Roman might imposes.'

Let us begin with that which secured to Thutmes III., in the eyes of his cotemporaries, the reputation of a powerful prince, namely, his wars and his victories over the whole of the then known world. The reports of these were chiselled in holy characters on the inner walls of the galleries and vestibule, which on the north-west and south surrounded the holy of holies of the temple of Amon at Karnak. In ancient times the Egyptians, in place of this modern Arabic name, would have said Ape or Apet. Fallen down, destroyed, thrown aside, only some portions of the long inscriptions have been preserved, but these are important enough to enable us to put together the principal parts of the grand report of the table of the victories of Thutmes III., and to give a general representation of the extent of his campaigns.

More than thirteen campaigns was the great Pharaoh obliged to carry on during nearly a space of twenty years against foreign nations, during which town after town had to be stormed, river after river had to be passed over, country after country had to be tra-

versed in long days' journeys, under a foreign sky, and through a hostile population. Under the rule of the 'woman-king,' Hashop, the tributes which were imposed on the conquered peoples, and which they ought yearly to have presented to the court of Pharaoh, had gradually been neglected to be paid, and to the Egyptian warnings on the subject a deaf ear had been paid, or even threats had been uttered; and thus it went on, until at last the kings, with their peoples, renounced the Egyptian supremacy under the sceptre of a 'woman-king,' and took up a position against the empire in the valley of the Nile. It also happened that, at the same time, in the mighty state of the Chaldeans on the banks of the Euphrates, a great change had taken place. The Chaldean dynasty was attacked by the Arabs from the south, and the ruling princes of the land were upset, and expelled or carried away into captivity. A new era arose, the era of the Arab kings in Babylon, who from this time for many years bore rule in the river countries of Mesopotamia. All these events, which happened a short time before the sole reign of Thutmes III. had introduced an important change into the life of the peoples from the Euphrates as far as the Western Sea, and could not fail to exercise an influence also in Egypt. The races of the Upper Ruthen, who lived nearest to the Egyptians and the Phœnician Khalu of the 'hinder lands,' and their southern neighbours in Zahi, had declared themselves free and independent of the yoke of the Egyptians, and only the king and people of Gaza had preserved their ancient friendship for the Egyptians.

Ruthen and Zahi were in the different years of the war the main points of attack. After victories wrung from them they were both obliged to throw themselves at the feet of the Pharaoh Thutmes III., who returned home with his army, in the intervals of peace in the East, to subdue the revolted peoples to the west and south of Egypt, and to bring them back to their ancient obedience.

As I have already taken the opportunity of observing, the king with his army left the Egyptian frontier in the month of Pharmuthi, probably towards its close. The point of departure is clearly stated to have been the fortress on the eastern frontier at Zalu or Zoan-Tanis. The following literal translation of the Egyptian tradition will show from the monuments the further course of the campaign:—

The king, Thutmes III. [may he live for ever], has issued the command that there should be put up [the report of his victories which his father Amon granted him] in the form of a memorial tablet in this temple which the king has erected to his father [the Theban god Amon. There is stated in this the list of the towns which he has conquered in his] campaign according to their names, with the addition of the booty which was brought away by (the king out of) all (lands), which was delivered to him by his father, the sun god Ra.

In the twenty-second year, in the month Pharmuthi, (on the? day, the king found himself in)

the fortress of Zalu on his first campaign to (extend)

the frontiers of Egypt by (his) victories.

Now the duration of the same was X + two years . [The foreign kings had sown]

Discord. Each was in . . . against . . .

the (races?) which lived there

in the town of Sheruhan, they made the beginning with Irza, and found their termination at the extremest limits of the earth,

with the exception of those who had raised themselves up against the king. In the year twenty-three, on the fourth day of the month Pachons, the day of his accession to the throne,

he found himself in the town, which the ruler of Gazatu (Gaza) possessed.

On the fifth of Pachons he left this place full of power
and strength,
in might and triumph to conquer that miserable
enemy, and to enlarge
the boundaries of Egypt, according to the commands
of his father Amon (who gives to him)
what he possesses. In the year twenty-three, on the sixteenth of Pachons at Ihem.
[The king] gave the order
for a council of the warriors on account of the war.
Then he thus spake: That hostile king
of Kadeshu has arrived. He is
in Makitha (Megiddo). He is (there)
at this moment. He has assembled the kings
of (all) the peoples (who dwell)
from near the water of Egypt as far as the land of
Naharain [the . . . .]
The Khalu (Phœnicians), the Kidu (Kittim) the . . . .
their heroes their warriors (in great numbers).

Thus speaks he: I will wait for (the king of Egypt) in Makitha (Megiddo). Tell me (which is the way to take to this city).

They spake before the king: Would it succeed, to take the way to

that road which leads to the narrow passes! for we (have information thus)

speaking; the enemy (lie in ambush) in that place
and impassable is
the road for a numerous body. Then see! these cannot go
One horse after [another, nor one man after]
a man in the same way. Will not then [the enemy draw up his army to]
fight there, while the (warriors) stand still?
A broad road goes
Out from Aluna. It offers no opportunity for attack, and with respect to the way on a broad road

it is the only way. Take it into consideration. [Let us go by it we shall forth] come (to)

Ta-an-na-ka (Thaanach). Another (way) which you may take into consideration

is the road northwards from Ziftha (Zaphat).

We come out upon this to the north of Makitha (Megiddo)

Where also always our victorious ruler will go, (we will follow) him (on the way)

Only let him not lead us on the impassable road. And see (there arrived)

the spies, (whom the king had sent out) to find out the intentions (of the enemy and)

they spake in the presence of the king. Then spake the holiness of Pharaoh—may he live, and be sound and well!—(thus)

So truly loves me the sun god Ra, I call to witness my father Amon, I the son of the (sun god Ra)

with a pure life I will enter on the road of A-

luna. Cease then, whoever among you the wish has to enter on (other)

roads, which you have named. But let come (those)

Among you, who will follow me. For thus would speak

the enemies, who know not Ra. Does not the king shout on

Another road? He will withdraw himself from our shouts. Then they agreed

Since they also spake before the king. May thy father Amon of Thebes, grant

to us protection and safety, since we will follow the king into all places wherever thou mayst go; since the servant should be behind (his) lord. (Then the king showed himself)

in the sight of his assembled warriors (and he thus spoke to them)

May Amon lead us into[1] (good ways). Each one of the warriors took an

oath, thus speaking, I will not step aside

before the king (so as to protect him against the

enemy. I will let him the king)

go himself before his warriors. (Then the king left his home and went)

[1] The translation is very uncertain.

on his feet, and of those who went the horse was behind (them. Thus the king went)

at the head of his warriors. In the year twenty-three, on the nineteenth of Pachons, was pitched

the king's tent at the city of Aluna. But the king went on forwards. His divine father Amon-Ra (the ruler of Thebes)

was before him, and the god Hormachu (the light god of Heliopolis) (by) his side.

His father Amon-Ra, the lord of Thebes, victory for (thine) arm . . . .

for the king. The battle breaks out on the side (of the enemy).

In the turmoil of battle . . . . numerous are

the southern horn at the town of Ta-a (na-ka) (Taanach)

the northern horn at the southern corner (of the town of Megiddo)

The king was in their sight

They fall to earth, and the hostile king . . . .

. . . they . . . .

Then, after a break of three or four lines,[1] the following large fragment is to be placed:—

Aa-lu-na. The rear of the brave warriors of the King (remained) at (the town of)

Aluna. The advanced guard came out into the valley.

They filled all the ground of this valley. Then they spake thus to the king:—

'May the king advance, accompanied by his warriors to the battle, it is of them full

the valley, we will obey our war-chief in the (struggle).

We will protect our lord and the rear of his warriors together with his people.

We have (left) the rear of the warriors behind (that) they may fight against

[1] Of this I was able in the year 1851 clearly to read the following words:—

As . . . . the king's children, just as he wished, in the town of Aluna) see

the land . . . of the Aam, in this we do not act according to our wishes.

our warriors. And the King took up a position outside them to protect the rear of his warriors in the battle. Then they reached the . . . . and the warriors came out on this road.

the sun, when the King reached the South of Megiddo on the bank of the brook Qinaa (Kanah). There were (further) 6 hours passed by of the day. Then was the camp pitched, and the King showed himself in the sight of the warriors (thus speaking):

Halt prepared, look to your arms, since we shall meet in battle this miserable enemy early to-morrow morning, because . . . .

Assembled at the tent of Pharaoh, the baggage of the guides, and the utensils? of the servants were prepared. When the guard had been mounted which the warriors kept, thus they spoke:

Firm courage, firm courage! Watch! watch!

Watch over his life at the King's tent!

They came to the King to announce: Meru (Egypt) is aroused, both the noble races and the warrior people of the South and the North land alike.

In the year 21 on the 21 Pachons, on the feast of the new moon, which is the anniversary of the coronation of the King, in the early morning, it was ordered to all the warriors, that they should open . . . .

The King made his entry on his chariot of copper, provided was he with all the necessary panoply, he was like Hor the Striker, the lord of Might, and like Menthu, the lord of Thebes. His father Amon made his hands strong. The horn of the warriors of the King at the Southern mountain (was at the brook) Qina, the Northern horn of the North West of Megiddo, the King in their midst, Amon at his side . . .

his limbs.

Then the King took possession of them before his warriors. These admired the King as their lord. Then they fled head over heels to Megiddo, with terror in their countenances, and left behind their horses and their gold and silver chariots, and were drawn up with ropes to their clothes into this town, since the people had closed the gates of the said town on account of (the deeds of the King).

While they were being drawn up by their clothes from without

into this town, Oh that the warriors of the King had not yielded to their desire to plunder the things of the enemy . . . .

Megiddo at the same hour. For there was drawn up the miserable King of Kadesh, together with the miserable king of this town (Megiddo), so that they escaped and came into their town. Then was the king beside himself . . . . .

. . . . . Then were plundered their horses, their gold and silver chariots, which had been made in the land of the Asebi (Cyprus). They lay kicking in heaps like fishes on the ground. The brave troops of the king counted over their things. See! they have captured the tent (of the miserable king) in which his son (was found). Then the warriors all at once raised a shout of joy and gave honour to Amon (the lord of Thebes) who had given to his son the victory. And the . . . . of the king vouchsafed his power. And they exhibited the booty, which they had taken in hands, and living prisoners, and mares, and chariots, and gold and silver (and all other things). Then spake the king: Thank Amon for the protection which he has afforded (me his beloved son) the sun god Ra on this day. With respect to all the kings of that people, which have shown themselves as enemies in their inward thoughts, and with respect to the fact that the might of Megiddo is the might of a thousand towns, you must possess yourselves of it . . . . . .

The leaders of the bodyguard were to return each to his place. And they left this (town and remained) at the ramparts which were made up of fresh green trees of all sorts of the wood of the country. And it was a satisfaction to the king to be within it as within a fortress on the East side of this town.

(The king gave the order) to build round the place and to surround it with thick walls and with thick (battlements), and the king gave it the name 'Men-kheper-ra, which has taken possession of the plain of the Asiatics,' and guards were placed before the dwelling of the king, and it was told them 'Firm courage, firm courage! Watch, watch! watch over the life in the tent of the king. The king (forbad the hostile inhabitants, that none should show himself)

of them outside, behind this wall; excepted was the exit in an opposite direction, at the gate of their fortress. All this did the king do to the miserable kings and to their miserable warriors. It was exhibited by day in his name, and in the name of . . . .

And it was exhibited on a roll of leather in the temple of

Amon on the same day. Then came the kings of this land (together with) their (children?) to worship before the king, and to implore breath for their nostrils, because of the strength of his arm and because of the greatness of his spirit.

(and then came the children of the kings) before Pharaoh and presented their gifts of silver, gold, blue stone and green stone, and they brought also wheat and wine in skins, and fruits for the warriors of the king, since each of the Kitti had taken care to have such provisions for his return home. Then the king pardoned the foreign princes because of . . . .

Catalogue of the booty:

3,401 living prisoners
83 hands
2,041 mares
191 foals
6 bulls
1 chariot, covered with plates of gold, also the chest of gold, belonging to the hostile king.
31 chariots, covered with plates of gold of the king of . . . .
892 chariots of his miserable warriors.

924 total.

1 beautiful iron armour of the hostile king.
1 beautiful iron armour of the king of Megiddo.
200 accoutrements of his miserable warriors.
602 bows.
7 tent-poles covered with plates of gold from the tent of the hostile king.

Pharaoh's warriors had also taken as booty—

. . . . bulls
. . . . cows
2,000 kids,
20,500 white goats.

Catalogue of that which the king afterwards carried off as his property out of the dwelling of the hostile king, which (was in the towns of) Inn'am, Annau-Gas, and Herinokol, together with the (nobles) of these towns which gave themselves up (to the Pharaoh) for favour or disgrace:—

. . . .
39 noble persons

87 children of this king and of the kings allied with him.
5 Marina (lords) who had joined themselves to him, noble men.
1596 men and maid servants, together with their children.
105 persons, who gave themselves up, whom famine had delivered into the hand of this king.

2503 total.

Besides precious stones, golden dishes, and many utensils of this sort, a large jug with a double handle, a Phœnician (Khal) work . . . . dishes . . . . cups of different kinds for drinking, great gutters,
97 swords.
1784 lbs. gold rings, which were found in the hands of the artists.
966 lbs. . . . oz. of silver rings in great numbers.
1 statue made of . . . the head of gold.
ell measures with heads on staves, of ivory, ebony, cedar wood, inlaid with gold.
6 chairs belonging to the hostile monarch, and the footstools to them of ivory and cedar wood.
6 large tables of cedar wood, inlaid with gold and precious stones.
1 staff of the king, worked as a kind of sceptre entirely of gold.
1 plough, inlaid with gold.
1 statue of the hostile king, the head of it in gold . . . . iron vessels.
many garments of the enemy.

The fields also were divided into parts and measured off by the surveyors of the royal house, and their harvest was gathered in.

Account of the harvest which the king reaped from the fields of the town of Megiddo:—

280,000 (+X) measures of corn, besides that which was destroyed in gathering it in by the soldiers of the king.

(Taxes) of the land of Ruthen in the year 32 :—

TRIBUTE OF THE KING OF ASSUR.

20lbs. 9oz., the weight of a block of real bluestone.
(30lbs. —), the weight of two blocks of real bluestone.

50lbs. 9oz., the total weight of the three blocks.

Bluestone of Babel.
of Hertet-stone many utensils of Assur.

TRIBUTE OF THE KINGS OF RUTHEN IN THIS YEAR.

A king's daughter adorned with . . . . . .
gold.
Bluestone of this land.
30 . . . .
65 men-servants and maid-servants of their tax.
4 chariots covered with plates of gold, the chest gilt.
6 chariots of copper, the chest of agate.

10 chariots in all.

45 bullocks and calves.
600 (+X) bulls.
. . . . . .
The quantity of wheat could not be measured.
104lbs. 5oz. weight, a silver jug, with a golden storm cap inlaid with bluestone.
an iron armour decorated with gold.
833 jars of balsam.
1718 jars of wine and honey.
much spelt.
much . . . .
ivory.
cedar-wood, Meru-wood; Pesga-wood, Zagu-wood, and all other kinds of the best fire-wood, and many other precious productions of this land, which in all the places where the king went were brought into his tent.

In the year 34, catalogue of the tributes which the king carried away from the land of Ruthen:—

THE TRIBUTE OF THE KING OF ASSUR.

armlets of Masq and Machu-leather.
a secret . . . .
chariots with wooden heads on them.
180 (+X) aqaratu.
. . . . . .
343 (chariots) with a wooden yoke.
51 sticks of cedar wood.
190 of Meru-trees.
205 Kanakat of Nib-wood.

Here comes in a second larger fragment (now in the Egyptian collection at Paris), the contents of which are not less instructive than those of the foregoing table of victory. The general title to it begins with the following words:—

The king has ordered to set out the victories which his divine father (Amon of Thebes) has accorded to him on this stone wall in the God's house, which he has newly built.

In the year 29 was the King in the town (Tunep) to destroy its inhabitants, who had taken part against him, in his fifth campaign.

At that time the king conquered the town of Wa . . . . t.

His warriors glorified the king, and they offered a prayer of thanksgiving (to Amon of Thebes for) the victories (which he had accorded) to his son. That seemed to the king more pleasant than all else. After this the king betook himself into the provision house of the offerings, and a proper offering was prepared (to the God Amon) and to the God Hormachu of oxen, calves, birds (and all other offerings in the name of the king) Thutmes III. May he live for ever.

Catalogue of the booty which was carried away out of this town:—

noble persons of the people of the land of Tunep.
The king of this town.
329 Marina (lords).

100lbs. of silver.
100 lbs. of gold.
bluestone.
greenstone.
vessels of iron and copper.
They took possession of a ship which bore
a freight of all things, of
men-servants and maid-servants.
brass.
lead.
white gold.
and all other useful things.
while the king returned to Egypt his heart was filled with joy, because he seized the wheat of the town of Aruth, and destroyed all their best trees.
Then (went) the king through the whole land of Zahi.
Their trees were full of fruit, and their wine was found stored in cellars as well as in skins. Their wheat lay on the floor ready to be threshed. It was more than the sand on the sea-shore. The soldiers took possession of all their things.

Account of the booty, which the King carried off in this campaign—

51 men-servants and maid-servants.
40 mares.
10 silver dishes.
470 jars of balsam, oil, and honey.
6428 jars of wine.
brass.
lead.
bluestone.
greenstone.
3636 goats.
many kinds of good
corn
meal.
. . . .
Some of the most choice fruits of this land.

Then the soldiers caroused, and anointed themselves with oil, as they used to do on feast days in the land of Egypt.

In the year 30 the king was in the land of Ruthen on his sixth campaign,

and came to the town of Kadesh, and destroyed it, and cut all their trees, and the wheat was laden.

(then the king went to the town of . . . A . . . tu and came to the town of Zamar (Semyra), and came to the town of Aruthut (Aradus) and served it in the same way.

Account of the booty which was laid before the king by the kings of the land of Ruthen in this year :—

Then was brought before him the children of the kings and their brothers, to remain as hostages in Egypt, so that when one of these kings should die, then the Pharaoh should take his son, and put him in his stead.

4 children of kings carried away in this year.
181 men-servants and maid-servants.
188 mares.
9 chariots covered with plates of gold and silver.
40 chariots painted.

In the year 31, on the 3rd Pachons, the prisoners of the king of the same year were brought together, which were carried away out of the land of An-an-ruth, which is situated on the shore of the lake of Nes-ro-an :—

490 living prisoners
. . . attendants (?) of the young son of the hostile king,
. . . people, who were placed over the house of the women, which were within it

494 people in all.

26 mares,
13 chariots, which were provided with all the necessary harness.

When the king had conquered the same town in a short time, he took as booty what offered itself.

The tributes of the kings of Ruthen, which had come to fall down before the king in this year :—

. . . man-servants and maid-servants
. . . of this land.
761 lbs. 2oz. of silver,

19 chariots covered with plates of silver provided with all the necessary harness.
104 oxen
172 calves with the cows.

276 total.

4622 goats
40 raw ore
. . . lead
(armour ornamented) with gold,
41 leather collars, covered with brass scales,
and all their valuable productions, together with the best kinds of woods of the same country. And each resting-place to which the king came was provided with the necessary provision of bread of various kinds, oil, balsam, wine, honey, and . . . . . of which there was more than anything else, more than the warriors of the king themselves desired. This is no fable. They were set out on a table in the king's houses, so as not to add to their number on this tablet, so that the sentences may not be too many, but so that their description may be given at the place (where) they make . . . There has been before given an abstract for the land of Ruthen in numerous kinds of cereals, in wheat, corn, spelt, balsam, fresh oil, wine, fruits, and all excellent things of the land. There were given over to the treasury to examine the great quantity of the things given in . . . . . .

33 different kinds of . . . . in addition

Alabaster and other kinds of precious stones of this land, together with

many stones for the fire-flux (?) in the . . . . and all such good productions of this land.

The king had returned to Egypt. Then arrived the ambassadors of Ganabat, who brought with them their tributes:—

5 . . . incense and Kama.
10 negroes for service.
113 oxen and calves.
230 bulls.

343 total.

Besides what the ships were laden with. Elephants' teeth, ebony, leopard skins, and all other precious productions of the same land.

Further (the tribute of the land of Wawa-t),

5 . . . out of the land of Wawa-t,

31 oxen and calves.

60 bulls.

—

97 total.

Besides what the ships were laden with in sundry productions of the same land, of such a kind were the tributes of the land of Wawa-t.

In the year 33 the king was in the land of Ruthen and came (to the water in the streamland Naharain, there to raise two memorial tablets, the one) on the East side of the same water, the other by the side of the memorial stone of his father, Thutmes I.

Then the king went further abroad to conquer the towns, and to reduce to a level plain the strong places of the king of the miserable land of Naharain (on his 7th campaign).

. . . . . (and the king) was behind them for the distance of a mile, and no single one showed himself, for they were bent on flight and sprang like the kids of the mountains. Then flew the horses (of the king

. . . . . .

Account of the booty which all the warriors of the king carried off:—

30 kings and their women.

80 men conquered in battle.

606 men-servants and maid-servants, and their children.

. . . people who had surrendered themselves for favour and disgrace, and their women.

. . . . . carrying away their crops.

The king came to the town of Ni on his return home. After he had arrived there, he placed on his memorial tablet in the land of Naharain, that the boundary stones of Egypt had been extended.

. . . . . .

Account of the booty which was brought before Pharaoh from the kings of the same land:—

521 men-servants and maid-servants.
260 mares.
45lbs. $\frac{1}{5}$oz. of gold.
. . . utensils of silver and gold, worked in Zahi.
. . . chariots with all their appurtenances.
28 oxen, calves, and young bulls.
564 bulls.
5323 goats.
926 jars of balsam.
. . . sweet oil, besides (fresh oil),

and all other delightful productions of the same land, and a multitude of different kinds of fruit. The halting-places were provided with every kind of provision as their tax for each year required. To this is added the tribute of the inhabitants of the land of Limanon, according to their yearly tax, together with (the tribute) of the kings of Limanon.

. . . . . .

2 unknown (kinds of birds).
2 geese.

These were dearer to the king than anything else.

The tributes of the kings of Sangar:—

4 lbs. of real bluestone.
24 lbs. of artistic bluestone.
. . . bluestone of Babel.
a . . . of real bluestone
a ram's head of real bluestone, 15lbs. in weight.
in addition every kind of vessel.

The tributes of the great land of Khita in this year:—

304 lbs. in 8 rings of silver
a great piece of white precious stone.
Zagu wood

. . . . . .

(Then Pharaoh returned) after he had gone as far as the stream-land of Naharain, in order to increase the boundaries of Egypt.

These are the precious things which were brought to the king from the land of Punt in the same year:—

1685 measures of dried incense

. . . lbs. of gold
. . . . . .
155 lbs. 2 oz.
134 men-servants and maid-servants
3 oxen
116 calves
302 bulls

419 total.

Besides what was laden on the ships of all other good things of the same country.

Account of the tribute of the land of Wawa-t:—

. . . . .
12 men negroes.

20 total.
44 oxen and calves.
60 bulls.

104 total.

Besides what was laden on the ships of all other good things of this land. The calculated tribute was of such an amount.

In the year 34 the king was in the land of Zahi (on his 10th (sic) campaign).

Account of the towns which were taken in this year:—

2 towns.
1 town which had made peace on the territory of Anaugas.

3 total.
90 male prisoners which were carried away by the king (out of the territory of . . . .) and which had resisted.
3 men who had given themselves up.
. . women and children of the same.
40 mares.
15 chariots covered with plates of silver and gold.
50 lbs. 8 oz. of golden utensils and gold rings.
153 lbs. of golden utensils of this land, and rings.
. . . . . brass.
326 calves.

40 white goats.
50 kids.
70 apes.
a quantity of wood of Zagu-trees, black trees, cedar trees.
6 chairs (with their footstools).
6 columns for a tent, made of iron, with precious stones in them.
all kinds of good wood of this land.

Tribute of the kings of Ruthen in the same year:—

36 chariots covered with plates of silver and gold, and painted.
706 men-servants and maid-servants.
55 lbs. 8 oz. of gold.
. . . . . silver utensils, works of the land of (Zahi?).
. . . . . Mennei stone and all kinds of precious stones.
. . . utensils.
80 bricks of raw ore.
11 bricks of lead.
100 lbs. of colours.
incense.
greenstone.
Alabaster.
. . . . . .
12 oxen and calves.
530 bulls.
84 asses.
. . . iron.
much of many kinds of wood.
many brass utensils.
690 jars of balsam.
2080 jars of sweet oil besides fresh oil.
608 jars of wine.
3 chariots of Zagu wood.
3 kenket of cedar wood.
all other kinds of wood of the same land.

All the halting-places of the king were provided with all good things which the king had to receive (from the inhabitants) of the land of Zahi. The Keftu (Phœnician) ships and the Kapuni (Gebal) ships were laden with sticks of timber and masts . . . . together with long poles of wood for (the dwellings) of the king.

Tribute of the King of Asebi (Cyprus) in the same year—

108 bricks of clean brass, 2040 lbs. in weight.
5 bricks of lead, 1200 nuns in weight.
110 lbs. of bluestone.
1 elephant's tusk.
(The unpaid tribute of the miserable land of Kush.)
2 ells, the work of the miserable land of Kush.
600 + X lbs. of gold.
(3) . . . . .
60 negroes.
1 son of the King of the Blemyer.

64 people in total.

. . . . oxen.
170 bulls.

275 total.

Besides what was laden on the ships of ivory, ebony, and all other precious productions of this country; of such amount was the tribute imposed on the land of Kush.

In the year 35 was the king in the land of Zahi on his 10th campaign—

Then he came to the town of A-ri-a-na. He had collected, this miserable king of the stream land, Naharain, the horses, together with the warriors and servants (of all the kings and countries), from the extreme ends of the land. They were more (than the sand on the seashore, only they) avoided the battle with the king. Then met (the warriors) of Pharaoh with them together. Then did the warriors of the king a capital stroke in their eager attack on account of the opportunity to plunder, what each could carry away with him. Then the king took possession of . . . . the stream-land of Naharain. (They turned round) and fell down head over heels, one over another, before the king.

Catalogue of the booty which the king himself had taken from the hostile inhabitants of the stream-land of Naharain :—

. . . lbs. weight two suits of armour of iron.

Catalogue of the booty which the warriors of the king had carried off from the (hostile inhabitants of this country):—

10 living prisoners.
180 mares.
60 chariots.
ornamented collars of leather.
iron suits of armour.
5 iron storm caps.
5 bows of the Khal (Phœnicians).

The booty which was taken in Ket . . .

226 . . . . .
. . . . .
1 chariot, covered with plates of gold.
20 and 10 chariots, covered with plates of silver and gold.

On two other fragments belonging to the same tablet of victory mention is made of a thirteenth and fourteenth campaign of the king, as we may be certain from what has been preserved of it, according to the following translation:—

. . . . .
. . . . . Skehel, Ded, Abhati, paint for the eyes.
. . . . . cattle of the country.
. . . . . firewood, a production of the miserable land of Kush.
70 lbs. 1 oz. of gold.
menservants and maidservants.
oxen and calves.
Besides what was laden on the ships of ebony, ivory, and all other good things of this land.
In addition, the taxes of the land of Wawa-t:
34 negroes, men-servants and maid-servants.
94 oxen, calves, and bulls.
Besides what was laden on the ships of all the other good things of the land. Of such amount were the taxes of the land of Wawa-t.

In the year 38 the king went on his 13th campaign:—

The king destroyed the territory of the town of Anau-gas.
50 living prisoners.
. . . mares.
. . . chariots . . . . provided with all the necessary appurtenances.
The friendly people of Anau-gas.

Catalogue of the booty which was brought to the king in this year:—

328 mares.
522 men-servants and maid-servants.
9 chariots, covered with plates of silver and gold.
61 painted chariots.
—
70 total.
1 necklace of bluestone.
1 jug with two handles, and dishes with goats' heads on them, one with a lion's head, productions of the land of Zahi (with a total weight of)—
2821 lbs. 3 oz. (of gold.)
276 bricks of raw copper ore.
47 bricks of lead.
656 jars of balsam.
3 jars with sweet and with fresh oil.
1752 jars of melted butter.
156 jars of wine.
12 oxen.
. . . . . .
46 asses.
5 elephants' tusks.
3 tables of ivory and cedar wood.
68 lbs. of Mennu-stone.
. . . . spears, shields, and bows,
all sorts of nut woods and other excellent woods of this land and all other good productions of this land.

Each halting-place was well provided with all good things according to the impost for their yearly service (to deliver) on the outward journey of the King the productions of the land of Limanon to such an amount.

Tribute of the land of Zahi—
. . . . in wheat, balsam . . . .
Tribute of the King of the Asebi (Cyprus)—
. . . . raw copper ore.
. . . . mares.
Tribute of the King of Arirech in this year—
menservants and maidservants.
2 bricks of raw copper ore.
56 cedar trees.
All other pleasant woods of this land.

Taxes, which were brought to the king from the land of Punt—
240 cans of dry incense, a production of the miserable land of Kush.
100 lbs. weight, a golden spear.
. . . .
36 negroes, boys and girls.
111 oxen and calves.
185 bulls.

296 in all.

In addition to the ivory, ebony, and all such precious productions of the country as formed the freight of ships.
Besides, together with the taxes of the country, the productions of Wawa-t.
2844. [. . . .]
16 negroes, boys and girls.
77 oxen and calves.
In addition to all the precious productions which formed the freight of the ships.

In the year 39 the king was in the land of Ruthen on his 14th campaign.

His road was directed against the land of the hostile Shasu.

Catalogue (of the booty which the soldiers carried off).

197 boys and girls.
229 mares.
2 golden dishes.
12 lbs. of golden rings.

30 lbs. . . . .(gold).
1 silver dish.
1 silver double-handled cup, with the head of a bull.
325 silver pieces of all kinds of utensils.
1 silver ring.

1495 lbs. 1 oz. in weight.

. . . . chariots.
of white precious stone, Menkh-stone, natron, Mennu-stone, and all other precious stones (of this land).
364 cans of balsam, sweet oil, fresh oil, melted butter, and honey.
1405 jars of wine.
94 bulls.
1183 kids.
. . . . . iron . . . . . of this land.
And all other precious productions of this land.
Every halting-place was well provided with all good things according to the assessment of its yearly tribute.
On his return [the king came to the town . . . . . .]—tha [in the land . . . . . .]
In the same way the tribute of the land of Zahi in wheat balsam, oil . . . . . .

Another not less important fragment mentions several countries, which, in consequence of the new campaign of the king, had to bring the taxes imposed upon them to Egypt in the proportion of those previously mentioned. The following is the translation of what has been preserved:—

(The tributes of the land) of Asebi (Cyprus):—
2 elephant's tusks.
40 bricks of brass.
1 brick of lead.

The tributes of (the land of Kush) in the same year:—
144 lbs. 3 oz. of gold.
101 negroes, men-servants, and maid-servants.

. . . . . oxen and calves.
. . . . .

(The tributes of the land of Wawa-t in this year):—

. . . .
(35 oxen) and calves.
54 bulls.
—
89 total.

Besides what was laden on the ships of all the good things of this land.
Of such an amount was the tribute of the land of Wawa-t.

Catalogue of the booty of the kings of Ruthen which the king carried away out of the land:—

40 + X bricks . . . . .
3 battle-axes of flint.
. . . . . iron spears.
. . . . . .
. . . . . of this land.
26 elephants' tusks.
242 cedar trees.
184 oxen.
. . . . . goats.
. . . . .
. . . . .
balsam.

In the same way the tribute of the king of the great land of Kheta in this year:—

46 + X lbs. 2 oz. of gold.
(18) negroes, men-servants and maid-servants.
3 (negroes) useful for service.
—
21 total.
. . . . oxen and calves.
(Tribute of the land . . . . .)
. . . . .
3144 lbs. 3 oz. of gold.

35 oxen and calves.
(79) bulls.

114 total.

Besides what was laden on the ships of (all the other good things of this land).

In the year . . . then was the king in the land of Ruthen on his . . . . campaign.

. . . . . of Amon. The king went on the sea road to destroy the town of Ar-qa-tu (Arca), together with the towns of the country . . . . .
-ka-na. This town was destroyed and the territory belonging to it. Arrival in the town of Tunep. Destruction of the town; annihilation of their crops; in addition their trees were cut down. . . . . the chief men of the army carried them away. Their arrival was fortunate. Arrival on the territory of the town of Kadeshu. Conquest of the towns in it.

Catalogue of the prisoners who were carried away—

. . . . . from the stream-land of the miserable Naharain, which belonged to the Maunef among them, together with their horses—

690 heads.
29 hands.
48 mares.
. . . . .

(Catalogue of the tributes which were carried away out of the land . . . . .) in this year:—

295 men-servants and maid-servants.
68 horses.
Golden dishes and double-handled jugs.
A ladle with silver.
. . . . .
47 bricks of lead, 1010 lbs. in weight.
Colours.
White gold.
All good precious stones of this land.
Iron suits of armour and weapons.

(And other) delightful productions of this land.

Then was every halting-place provided with the necessary provision of all the good things according to its yearly impost.

The taxation laid on this land was of such an amount.

(Tribute of the king of . . . . . in this year):—

. . . . .

. . . . . with dishes, with bulls' heads on them, in weight 341 lbs. 2 oz.

33 oz., one piece of real bluestone.

A beautiful ell of Zagu wood.

. . . . . raw copper ore.

. . . . .

(Tribute of the king of the land . . . . .) nthanai.

1 brass kettle, the work of Kefthu.

Also utensils of iron stone.

56 lbs. 1 oz. weight a hand of silver.

(Taxes of the miserable land of Kush in this year):—

Besides what the ships were laden with of all the good things of this land. The taxation of the miserable Kusha was of such an amount.

Service of the land of Wawa-t in this year 2374 lbs. 1 oz. of gold.

. . . . . .

(The service was of such an amount from the land of Wawa-t.

Then the king ordered to be set up the report of the victories which he had gained from the 23rd year until the 39th year, which agrees with the erection of the memorial tablet on this temple wall.

Thus has he done. May he live for ever.

The rich tributes and taxes which King Thutmes III. received in the so-called halting-places on his campaigns, and those which the foreigners, and especially the Ethiopians, themselves brought to Egypt, were given over to the Theban officials to be accurately marked according to their number and weight, and registered in the great account-books of the adminis-

tration of the Pharaoh. The tributes of the people of the South, of the land of Punt, of the lands of Ruthen and Kefa, occupied the first place.[1] The metals were weighed in scales, on which heavy representations of animals in stone or brass (in the shape of reclining oxen) took the place of our weights. If Lepsius's explanation of the Usem-metal as electrum be right, according to a representation in a tomb mentioned below, not less than 36,692 lbs. of it was given in to the treasuries at Thebes under Thutmes III.; that is, a mass of 67 cwts., which, considering the rarity of this precious metal seems hardly probable. This Usem seems much more likely to have been a mixture of metals, resembling our brass, in which copper is the principal ingredient.

The tributes of the countries situated directly on the Nile in Upper and Lower Nubia were delivered to the Egyptian governor of the Southern country. In the time of Thutmes III. the 'king's son' Nahi occupied this post, who, according to the inscription in the rock temple of Ellesieh, received gold, ivory, and ebony for the king. Nahi himself says 'I am a distinguished servant of my lord; I fill his house with gold and make joyful the countenance of the king by the productions of the lands of the south. There follows a reward from the lord for Nahi the king's son and the governor of the South.'

After his brilliant campaigns on Canaanitish soil the return of the king to Egypt must have been one grand

[1] See Denkmäler III. 39 d., the inscriptions of a tomb in the hill of Abd-el-Qurnah.

triumphal procession. The sight of the captive princes, their children, and their subjects following the young hero, the numberless troops of horses, and the oxen and goats, and strange animals, the immense booty consisting of the productions of the foreign soil, and the splendour of the artistic works of gold and silver brought home, and the precious stones and costly woods, in a word, all the riches of the then known world, as far as the distant-dwelling Ethiopians, could not fail to make a deep impression on the easily excited Egyptians, and must have inclined the hearts of them all to the young king of the country.

The next thing to do was to offer a homage of thanks to the gods for the victories they had won. The Theban Amon was principally thought of, and his temple treasury in Ape of the South was filled with princely free offerings. In all quarters of the great city of Thebes new buildings were added to those already existing, and solid pylons, with double wings and obelisks 100 ells high, surmounted with glittering copper tops, were erected before them. The broad spaces of the walls of the widely-extended buildings now served to receive the reports of victory, and the catalogue of the foreign nations which had been conquered.

Before his return to Thebes the king, when near the conclusion of his first glorious campaign (in the year 23) had taken care to found in the northern portion of the land of Ruthen, in the so-called Limenen or Rimenen (the country of Lebanon), a fortress of unusual strength, which bore the name Men-kheper-ra

U'af-shema (that is, 'Thutmes III. who has bound the land of the foreigners'). It was situated near the Phœnician cities of Arathu (Aradus) and Zamira (Simyra) at the foot of Lebanon. From hence he returned to Egypt.

An inscription still fairly preserved, near the one before mentioned, gives a full record of the expression of the king's grateful feelings towards the god Amon. Scarcely had he returned to Thebes when he instituted three 'feasts of victory,' each of five days' duration, in remembrance of his campaigns, in which naturally the god of the empire, Amon, had the lion's share of the offerings and sacrifices. The first was to be celebrated on the first feast-day of Amon, the second on the second, and the third on the fifth feast of Amon, so that they coincided with the days of the feasts of Amon, of which, according to the calendar of feasts under Thutmes III., there were eleven. The calendar comprehended in all more than forty feast-days, the list of which is given in an inscription unfortunately half destroyed in the most important places. The following is the part preserved:—

Eve (called Khet) of the feast of Amon . . .	1 day
Amon's feast-days, which take place every year . .	11 days
The 4th Paḫons, feast of the accession of Thutmes III..	1 day
Feast of Neheb-kau on the first Tybi	1 day
Feast of the new moon (1) and of the 6th day of each month	24 days

The king dedicated to the god rich presents and sacrificial offerings for all times on the three 'feasts of victory,' likewise on the great festival 'of the [14th of Paophi], when the holiness of this glorious god was

drawn in,[1] to celebrate the feast of his voyage in the city of Ape in the southern land of Patoris,' to 'thank him for the victories over the land of Upper Ruthen.' By order of the king the three cities of Anaugas (Jenysus), Inu'amu (Jamnia?), and Harinocola (Rhinocolura), were assigned to the domain of this god, to pay yearly to his temple the taxes laid upon them.

The edifice erected by Thutmes III. to the honour of the god as a memorial of victory, called the Khu Mennu, 'splendid building' of the Hall of Pillars,[2] which still stands at Karnak, was richly endowed with precious gifts out of the booty brought home. Four obelisks of immense height were erected to the gods, and statues were dedicated to his royal ancestors, and special feasts were instituted to the divinities Hormakhu and Khim (Pan).

The first campaign of the king against Upper Ruthen, of which the monuments make frequent mention, was the most important of all his campaigns. Most of the

[1] According to the inscriptions on one of the fragments at the Temple of Elephantine, which Thutmes III. erected in honour of the god Khnum, the customary feasts of Amon were held there also. The fragment which has been preserved tells us of 'a feast of Amon on the new year's day of the first of Thut, which lasted 3+ (2 ?) days, as also of a feast of Amon 'of the Southern Thebes,' which began on the 15th of Paophi, and was kept up 11 (+x ?) days. Under the reign of Ramses III. the same feast began on the 19th Paophi and lasted 24 days, while the eve of the feast (Khet) took place on the 18th of Paophi.

[2] We use the phrase 'Hall of Pillars,' the better to distinguish this edifice from the still more famous 'Hall of Columns,' or 'Great Hall,' of king Seti I. (see Vol. II. p. 10), especially as the pillars in the hall of Thutmes III. are square, and those in Seti's hall are round.—ED.

temple walls were devoted to its commemoration, and were covered to superfluity with the names and pictures of the conquered nations and towns. The under-building of one of the pylons built by Thutmes III. to the south of the particular temple of the god at Karnak, which scarcely two years ago was laid bare (from the sand), has preserved to us the almost complete catalogue of the names, which is of inestimable importance for a knowledge of ancient geography and ethnology. In so far as it concerns the east of Egypt, we will give here a correct list of the names.

The general superscription, which relates to the towns of Upper Ruthen, is when translated as follows:

This is the catalogue of the inhabitants of the country of Upper Ruthen, which were taken prisoners in the hostile town of Megiddo. His holiness took away their children as living prisoners to the town and fortress of Suhen in Thebes on his victorious campaigns, as his father Amon ordered him, who led him into good paths.

We remark in these words that Suhen designated a particular fortified place, which was situated on the territory of the mighty Thebes, and was used for the reception of the prisoners. A second catalogue of the same people, or rather of their towns, is introduced by the following inscription:—

These are in their entirety the unknown peoples of the furthest end of Asia, which his holiness carried away as living prisoners. (Unknown was their land); it had never been trodden by the other kings of Egypt, with the exception of his holiness.

Here the writer, out of flattery to the king, has made an obvious mistake, as a glance at the deeds of the predecessors of Thutmes III. must convince us.[1]

[1] Compare above, pp. 292, 293.

Over the third catalogue finally we find the following words—

This is the catalogue of the inhabitants of Upper Ruthen, which his holiness has captured in the hostile town of Megiddo. His holiness has carried away their children as living prisoners to the town of Thebes (Us) to fill the house of his father Amon (the Lord) of the town of Thebes (Ape) on his first victorious campaign, just as his father Amon commanded him, who led him into good paths—

1. Kadeshu (Kadesh at the Orontes)
2. Maketha (Megiddo)
3. Khaai
4. Kithsuan (Kison)
5. Anshu
6. Debekhu (Heliopolis)
7. Bemai
8. Kamatha (Gamzo ?)
9. Tuthian (Dothaim)
10. Libina (Libna)
11. Qireth-Nazan (Kiriath-Sannah)
12. Maroma (Merom)
13. Thamaskoo (Damascus)
14. Athal, or Athar (Adar)
15. Abil (Abila)
16. Hemthoo (Hamath)
17. Aqidoo (Acod)
18. Shemaan (Samulis ?)
19. Biarut (Berytus)
20. Maazan (Madon)
21. Sarna (Saron)
22. Tubi (Tub)
23. Bizan (Batne)
24. Amashan
25. Masekh
26. Qaanau (Qanah)
27. 'Alan (Eglon)
28. Astharoot
29. Anau-repaa (Rapheion)
30. Maquta (Maqedah)
31. Luis (Laish)
32. Hazor (Hatzor)
33. Pa-Hil
34. Kinnaroot (Chennereth)
35. Shamaan
36. Athamem (Adamaim)
37. Qasooan
38. Shenama (Shunem)
39. Maskhal (Mishcal)
40. Aksep (Achsib)
41. Kebasuan (Kabseim)
42. Ta'anak (Taanach)
43. Ible'amoo (Jebleam)
44. Kentooasan (var. Kuasan)
45. Reta'arka
46. Aina (Ain)
47. Aak (Acco)
48. Lesh-kedesh
49. Keriman (Carmel ?)
50. Biar (Bera)
51. Shemesh-Athooma (Shems-)
52. Anookharooth (Anacheroth)
53. Aper (Ophra)
54. Aper (Ophra)
55. Khashboo (Heshbon)
56. Thasooroth
57. Negabu (Negeb)
58. Ashushkhen (Shehan)

59. Rianma (Meriamme)
60. Irza
61. Maakhas
62. Iopoo (Joppe)
63. Kenoot
64. Loothen (Lod)
65. Auanau (Ono)
66. Apuqen (Apheca)
67. Looko (Loccho)
68. Thema
69. Khabizan
70. Kenooth
71. Makthel (Migdol)
72. Apthen
73. Shabatooan (river Sabbaticus)
74. Thia
75. Nauon (Naîn)
76. Haditha (Hadida)
77. Har (Har)
78. Ishpar (Saphir)
79. Lagaza
80. Kerer (Gerar)
81. Har ar (Har-el)
82. Ribau (Rabba)
83. Noomaan (Noman)
84. Neaman (Noman)
85. Marmaam (Mamre)
86. Ain (Ain)
87. Rehoob (Rehoboth)
88. Aqar
89. Haiklim (Haglaim)
90. Aubil (Abil)
91. Autar'a
92. Aubil (Abil)
93. Kenthau (Kanath)
94. Maqripoot (Markaboth)
95. Aina (Anaia)
96. Kaloman (Gallim)
97. Bethia (Beth)
98. Tapun (Daphne)
99. Aubil (Abil)
100. Srut (Jether)
101. Harkaro (Rhinocorura)
102. Paqob Aal
103. Qaputa (Chaphtis)
104. Qasil
105. Ribut (Rabbith)
106. Maqlut
107. Amuq (Emeq)
108. Saltha (Zarthan)
109. Baroot (Beroth)
110. Beth-shear (Beth Shean)
111. Beth-anta (Beth-anoth)
112. Khalqoot (Helkath)
113. Anqen'-amoo (Enganim)
114. Qebau (Gibeah)
115. Telel (Tharala)
116. Zaftha (Sepheth)
117. Bereqan (Baraq)
118. Heum . . .
119. Akmes

By his successful researches concerning 'Les listes géographiques des pylones de Karnac, comprenant la Palestine, l'Ethiopie, le pays de Somâl,'[1] our colleague, M. Mariette-Bey, has next after that great master of

[1] Leipsig, 1875.

old Egyptian studies, the late M. E. de Rougé, gained the honour of having made the most precious contribution to the elucidation of this long list of names. We cannot, however, forbear, as a matter of the first importance, to ask for a more stringent examination into the pronunciation of the old Egyptian sounds of the letters, by a comparison of them with the Hebrew writings. In spite of many differences in the understanding of them, the greater number of the names which have been handed down to us may be treated as certainly identified as to the places they represent.

What gives the highest value to the catalogue is the undisputed fact that more than 300 years before the entrance of the Jews into the land of Canaan, a great league of peoples of the same race, which the monuments call by the name of the Ruthen, existed in Palestine under little kings, who dwelt in the same towns and fortresses as we find stated on the monuments, and who for the greater part by conquest fell into the hands of the Jewish immigrants. Among these the king of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in the land of the Amorites—as the inscriptions expressly state—played the first part, since there obeyed him, as their chief leader, all the kings and their peoples from the water of Egypt (which is the same as the biblical brook, which flowed as the boundary of Egypt) to the rivers of Naharain, afterwards called Mesopotamia. To these had joined themselves the Phœnician Khâlu, who dwelt in the country on the sea-coast called Zahi by the Egyptians, and whose capital was Aradus, as also the Kiti (the Chittim of Holy Scripture), who possessed

the island of Cyprus, and in all probability the sea-coast lying to the north of the Phœnicians. The triangle between the points Kadesh, Semyra, and Aradus, represented the theatre of the hostile engagements which have been so often mentioned.

As we must recognise in these inscriptions the table of the victories and the catalogue of the towns, according to the official declarations of the successful campaigns of the king, so on the other hand, since the discovery of an inscription in the tomb of a certain Amenemhib, we are in the fortunate position of finding the official reports confirmed by the mouth of an independent witness. Amenemhib was a captain who took an active share in the campaigns of Thutmes III., and from him we learn the interesting circumstances of his experience in this, and perhaps in other later campaigns. In a simple telling manner, conformably with the style of his age, he pictures forth the course of his life and the great deeds of the king, whom as a warrior he accompanied on his campaign in the closest possible proximity, and frequently takes the opportunity of admiring. I give the following literal translation of the whole inscription, according to the copy which the discoverer of it, Professor Ebers, has printed in the 'Egyptian Review.'[1]

THE HISTORY OF THE LIFE OF THE CAPTAIN AMENEMHIB.

1. I served

2. my royal lord on his campaigns in the North and South lands. He wished me to wait by his side,

3. and I fought hand to hand against this people of the

[1] *Ægyptische Zeitschrift*, Jahrgang 1873, p. 3.

4. land of Negeb. I carried off three grown men as living prisoners. Then when his holiness had arrived as far as the land of Naharain,

5. I carried off three grown men in the hand-to-hand combat. I brought them before his holiness as living prisoners.

6. Again I was in the hand-to-hand combat in that campaign against the people of the high plains of Oo'an towards the west of the land of Khaliboo. I captured

7. Amoo as living prisoners; thirteen men, seventy living asses, and thirteen iron spears inlaid with gold.

8. Again I fought hand-to hand in that campaign against the people of Karikaimesha. I carried away

9. some inhabitants as living prisoners. I waded through the water of Naharain, while they were in my hand (without letting them go).

10. I brought them before my royal lord. Then he rewarded me with a rich reward, namely (. . .)

11. I admired the brave deeds of King Thutmes III., the life of the distributors, against the people of Zor. He had done . . .

12. against, them. I was a hand-to-hand combatant before the king. I gained a hand. He gave me a golden reward for this, namely (. . .), and

13. two rings of white gold. And again I admired his valour, since I belonged to his servants. Taken was

14. Kadesh. I did not separate myself from the place where I was. I carried off from among the nobles two men as (living prisoners. I brought them)

15. before the royal lord of the land, Thutmes III.; may he live for ever! He gave me golden gifts for my valour before all the people,

16. namely, of the purest gold one lion, 2 necklaces, 2 helmets, 2 rings. And I admired my lord (. . .

17. . . .) in all his appearances, on account of the strength of (his) arm (. . . land . . .) . . . ha, when it happened another time.

18. I mounted up to the (. . .)

19. Again (I admired) his strength against the land of Takhis, which is situated on the shore (?) of the Lake Nesroo.

20. I fought hand-to-hand on that occasion before the king. I carried off three men of the Amoo as living prisoners. Then gave to me

21. my lord, golden chains of honour; namely, two golden aces, 4 rings, 2 helmets, 1 lion, and one slave.

22. Again (I admired) another extraordinary deed which the lord of the country performed in the neighbourhood of Ni. He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks (on his chariot?)

23. I engaged with the greatest among those which attacked his holiness. I cut through his trunk. While yet alive

24. He pursued me. Then I went into the water, between two rocks. Then my royal lord rewarded me with golden gifts;

25. namely, (. . .), and with three dresses. Then also the King of Kadesh let go a horse

26. with the head of a (. . .), and which dashed in among the warriors. Then I ran after him

27. on foot, holding my dagger, and cut through his belly. I cut off his tail and gave

28. it to the king. (I had) praise on the part of the divine one on account of this. The joy which he prepared filled my body, and pleasure thrilled through my limbs.

29. His holiness let the bravest of his warriors go before. The fortress was to be taken, which the inhabitants of Kadesh had newly erected. I was he

30. who took it. I was the leader of all the brave men; no other did it before me. I went out, and brought back the nobles

31. two men as living prisoners. My royal lord renewed his thanks to me on account of this by

32. splendid gifts of every sort. Contentment was with the king. I completed these combats while I was a captain. Then it happened that

33. it was I who had to arrange the sailwork (on his ship. And) I was the first of his entourage

34. on the river journey (to the honour of Amon) at his splendid festival at Thebes. The inhabitants were full of joy (on that account).

35. Behold then the king finished his course of life, after many years, glorified by conquests and by (sieges . . .),

36. and by triumphs, beginning in the first year (and finishing) in the last day of the month Phamenoth, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign.

37. Then he fled upwards to heaven, when the disk of the sun went down. The follower of a god joined himself to his creator.

38. When now the earth was clear and the morning broke, the

disk of the sun rose, and the heaven became clear, then was the king Amenhotep II. (may he live for ever!)

39. placed on the chair of his father, and he took possession of the throne. He possessed the greatest fulness of strength. For the foreign (inhabitants)

40. of the red land and their chiefs had he subdued. Appearing like Horus, the son of Isis, he took possession (of Egypt

41. and the inhabitants of this land) and they who remain in the land of the Kenemti (Oasis Magna), and all the people bowed themselves before him. Their gifts were on their backs,

42. since they begged of him the breath of life. Then was it that his holiness looked at me during the festive voyage he took on the ship,

43. whose name was (Kha-em-wa-suten). I (conducted the disembarkation) at the splendid festival of joy of Southern Thebes, so as to correspond with the order (of the festival).

44. Then they brought me up into the interior of the king's house, and I was made to stand before (the king, and they spake before him), that is, Amenhotep II.,

45. in respect of my merits. Then I fell down immediately before his holiness. And he spake to me thus: 'I know thy worth. I lay yet in the cradle as (the child) of the (deceased) lord of the land,

46. and thou (already) wast in the service of my father. Granted be to thee, by my order, an office. Be from this time forth a colonel (Adon) of the army. In pursuance of what I have said, watch over the brave men of the king.'

The colonel Mah did all that he has said.

This brave officer evidently referred to several campaigns in his account which we have just laid before our readers from a very ancient document. The first and most glorious campaign evidently occupied the principal part of his autobiography. Then the king was on the war-path in the land of Negeb, i. e. the land of the South, by which name also the biblical traditions are accustomed to designate the borderland to the south of Palestine.

The second theatre of the wars of the king is

designated as the river-land Naharain. We are then immediately transported from the south of Palestine to the parts of that land lying to the north. A third expedition carries us to the highlands of Oo'an, towards the west of the Khaleboo (Khalybon), the inhabitants of which were of the race of Aamoo. By these the author must have meant the mountainous country lying on the two banks of the Orontes, which represents a continuation of the mountain chain of Libanon towards the north. Here lay in Greek antiquity the little town of Daphne, celebrated for its laurel grove (the Tunep of the inscriptions?). Perhaps the country called Ooan-treeland in our account is here to be understood, since there was a second Khaleb, in Hebrew Khelbon, to the north-west of Damascus, and to the east of Anti-libanon, which enjoyed a great reputation from its successful cultivation of the vine. The aim of the fourth campaign was the well-known town of Qir-qamisha, the Karchemish of the Bible, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, which must here be understood under its Egyptian name of 'the water of Naharain.' The well-known Phœnician capital of Zar-Tyrus was reached on the fifth, while the sixth was directed against Kadesh, and is already familiar to us. The seventh campaign then was undertaken against the town Tekhis, or Takhis, on which the inscription in this place half destroyed, justly makes the remark:—('Enti) em septi en Nasru (na) "which is situated on the bank of the Nasruna."'

The town of Takhis was frequently mentioned by the Egyptians, since it was considered as one of the most important places of Upper Ruthen (thus it is expressly

called in the stone inscription in the temple of Amada in Nubia). In a roll of papyrus[1] it is named with other principal towns, since a writer reproaches his friend: 'Thou didst not go to Thakhis, Kafir-Marlan, Thamenit, Kadesh, Dapoor, Azai, Har-nemmaa, thou hast not beheld Qartha-Anboo near Beta-Thoopar, thou dost not know Adoolam and Zidipootha, in the same way thou knowest not the name of Khanroza, which is situated in the land of Aup, with the bull on its boundary, the place at which will be seen the tumult of conflict of all brave men.'

The last-named place, Aup, formed the most northern boundary of the Khaloo or Phœnicians, who, at a certain period of Egyptian history, had possession of the whole coast territory of Zal Tanis as far as Aup. On his eighth campaign against the town of Ni, we must particularly remark that this appears to have been an elephant district, in which the king gave himself up to the pleasures of the chase, and killed not less than 120 of these enormous beasts. The town of Ni, often confounded with Niniveh (since in the compounded word Dema-n-Ni, 'the town of Ni,' the mark of dependence *n* was added to the proper name Ni, which hence was pronounced as Neni), lay more to the north than the town of Kadesh on the Orontes. In the catalogue of Karnak it does not appear among the towns of Upper Ruthen, but in the second list of towns which was situated in the country of northern Syria, in Naharain, and which was celebrated under little kings in the rich civilised development of these times. We are at present not in a position to recognise in this any known town of antiquity.

[1] Pap. Anastasi, No. I., p. 22, line 3.

A curious history introduces the mention of the ninth campaign, which ends with the storming of the fortress of Kadesh. On his return home our hero had the honour of conducting, in his own person, the holy ship of Amon 'on his journey (to Thebes) to his splendid festival in southern Thebes,' an allusion no doubt to that festival which Thutmes III. had mentioned in the document of his donation,[1] and which fell on the fourteenth day of the month of Paophi.

A more careful examination of the fragments of the tablet of victory, which informs us of all the campaigns of the king from the first battle of Megiddo to their conclusion, leads us to the certain conclusion that Thutmes III., from the twenty-third to the fortieth year of his reign, undertook fourteen campaigns against the inhabitants of Western Asia. So far as the fragments will allow, we will here give, on the authority of the tablet, the following general summary of them.

In the 23rd year I. campaign against Ruthen.

In the years 24–28, II.–IV. campaigns against Ruthen.

In the year 29, V. campaign. The points of attack were the towns of Tunep and Aradus. The land of Zahi (Phœnicia) was laid waste.

In the year 30, VI. campaign against Ruthen. The towns of Kadesh, Semyra, and Aradus, were burnt.

In the year 31, VII. campaign against Ruthen, as far as Naharain, where at the river two memorial stones were placed. Burning of the towns and lands of Ananruth, Ni, Libanon, Singara, and Kheta. Nubia and Æthiopia delivered their tributes.

In the year 32, VIII. campaign against Ruthen for the levying the war-tax, for the share which the king of Assur had to pay.

In the year 34, IX. campaign against Ruthen and Zahi. The king of the island of the Asebi (Cyprus), appears with his tribute.

In the year 35, X. campaign against the land of Zahi.

[1] Compare p. 348.

In the year 36, XI. campaign.

In the year 37, XII. campaign.

In the year 38, XIII. campaign. Zahi had a tribute imposed. In the same campaign the island of Asebi (Cyprus), and the king of Arrech (Erech?) Æthiopia and Nubia appear as tributaries.

In the year 39, XIV. campaign against Ruthen. The country of the Shasu Arabs and of the inhabitants of Zahi was burnt.

In the year 40, XV. campaign against Ruthen.

It will not be without value for a knowledge of the art of carrying on war in these days, to cast a glance on the taxes as they appear in the inscriptions. According to these, the hostile towns were summoned to surrender. If this took place, the inhabitants were treated in a friendly manner, and a moderate war-tax was imposed. If they did not surrender they were attacked, their inhabitants were put under contribution, and a heavy war tax was imposed for yearly delivery. A repeated and obstinate opposition was punished by the destruction of the towns, annihilation of the crops and trees, the carrying away of hostages, and heavier war contributions. With regard to the last it may not appear superfluous to compare the Egyptian accounts of the tributes, with those transmitted to us in other places by the ancients, which, according to the searching inquiries of Professor Movers,[1] consisted in the following productions of the soil and of human industry, which for the most part were brought from foreign countries on the main roads of commerce by the Phœnicians, the Englishmen of antiquity. The following articles were brought from Palestine and Phœnicia; corn (land of the Ammonites, the greatest quantity came

[1] *Phœnizisches Alterthum*, Bd. iii.

from Galilee, further Samaria, and Moabitis, Joppa also was rich in this production); olive oil, Judah and Galilee; exportation to Syria, Arabia, and particularly to Egypt. Further, wine, and still more honey, and the syrup of grapes, woollen garments, linen, and byssus stuff, the balm of Gilead, so much esteemed in Egypt (which flowed from the resin or the gum of the mastix tree), storax (nekoth, used as incense) from Phœnicia, Syria, and Palestine, resin (loth, the Greek ledanon, a third kind of resin), asphalte (khemar, much sought in Egypt for embalming), dates, palm wine, and date-honey from the date palm-tree. The Phœnician trade embraced gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron, as well as slaves, which were brought from Syria and Palestine. The Assyrian Phœnician trade consisted (on the great Syrian roads of commerce) of valuable stuffs and ornamented garments, byssus, embroidery, wool, precious ointments, Aram-wine (the best from Khalybon and the neighbourhood of Damascus), purple, fine ointments, corals, carbuncles, rubies, or other precious stones. The staple of the trade for these articles was Babylonia. From Arabia were brought to the market gold, precious stones, spices, and sweet-smelling wood.

In this condensed sketch we find nearly all the articles which are mentioned by name as articles of booty on the tablet of victory.

Naharaina (Mesopotamia).—Men-servants and maid-servants, horses, oxen, goats, fruits, oil, balsam, gold, silver, lead, stuff for colours, precious stones. Further, Asmara (or Asmala, compare the Hebrew hashmal, electrum). Helmets, accoutrements, Phœni-

cian bows, vessels, and works in silver and gold of Phœnician origin, chariots of war.

The land of Khita.—Silver and gold rings, white precious stones, Zagu wood.

The land of Assur.—Real bluestone, bluestone of Babel.

The land of Singara (Sinear).—Real and artistic bluestone.

The land of Tunep.—Men-servants and maid-servants, gold, silver, brass, lead, electrum (?), bluestone, iron, and brazen utensils.

The land of Limanon (Libanon).—Unknown kinds of birds.

The island of Asebi (Cyprus).—Brass, lead, elephants' tusks, chariots covered with plates of gold and silver.

The land of Zahi (Phœnicia).—Negroes, horses, corn, oil, balsam, gold and silver rings and vessels, principally works of art, precious stones, Kushite perfumes.

The land of Ruthen.—Men-servants and maid-servants, besides the king's children, and the noble Marinas (lords) as hostages, horses, oxen, goats, elephants' tusks, corn, meal, fruits, oil, balsam, honey, silver, gold, green stone, blue stone, other precious stones, chariots of war, helmets, accoutrements (of leather and brass), weapons, among them battle-axes with stone blades, works of art in gold and silver, statues, house and tent furniture, of costly inlaid work, cedar wood, black wood, Pesga and Zagu wood.

It seems little likely that Thutmes III. ever undertook to carry on his campaigns in the south in person.

The inscriptions observe upon this point an obstinate silence. The rich list of barbarously sounding names, which comprehends the lands and the peoples of Nubia and Ethiopia, placed in a threefold repetition as the southern tablet of victory opposite to the northern, which contained the catalogue of the nations of Upper Ruthen, appears rather to be formed for vain-glory than to represent real conquests.

In order to give the opportunity to learned enquirers to compare these names with those which have been transmitted to us from antiquity, or which even now exist in modern times, we will give a complete copy of them on the authority of the inscriptions themselves.

The general heading runs as follows:—

Catalogue of the (following) peoples of the South countries and of the An (wandering peoples) of Khont-hon-nofer,[1] which the king has conquered, making a great slaughter of them. No man knows their number. All the inhabitants were carried away as living prisoners to Thebes to fill the provision house of his father the Theban Amon. Now are all peoples subjected to the king, as was the will of his father Amon.

1. The miserable Kush.
2. Ather or Athel (Adulis?)
3. Athel maioo (Atalmo in the inscription of Adulis M.)
4. Maioo (gold and incense land).
5. Arkek (now Arkeko, near Massaua M.)
6. Au-re-ka-re-ka.
7. Bukah, or Bukka (land of the Bugaites in the inscriptions of Axum).
8. Serinik.
9. Berber-ta (the land Barbaria, the present Berber land?)
10. Takaru (Tigré in Abyssinia M.)
11. Balma (Blemyer).
12. Gureses (the town of Kassala M.)
13. Arek, or Alek (Algo-dene near Kassala M.)
14. Thururek, or Thullek (the island of Dahlak near Adulis, M.)
15. Gulubu (the name of the

[1] In the place of the An, one catalogue only names 'the north countries.'

Koloboi, near Adulis, on the coast of the Red Sea).
16. Ankenna (the island of Akanthine, to the north of Adulis).
17. Begshaga.
18. Tamker.
19. Markal.
20. Tharu-t (Dere or Deire, in Nubia, situated on the Nile).
21. Qazaâ (the Gazi of the inscription of Adulis.)
22. Meturth.
23. Therther.

II.

24. Wawa-t (the Nubian land mentioned on the rock of Korusko).
25. Antom, Aan-tom (mentioned in Aboo-Simbel).
26. Moosoo.
27. Behaa.
28. Hetau (mentioned in Abusimbel.)
29. Deshfu.
30. Thehebbu.
31. Uthau.
32. Themu-s-nun-th.
33. Pahnun (the Pechini?)
34. Bezu.
35. Zaumen.
36. An-mu-aa.
37. An-beth.
38. Aamâ (Nubian land).
39. Buut.
40. Appezu (26).
41. Ahaaafu.
42. Ahaa.
43. Jua.
44. Zat, Zath.
45. Azemet.
46. Aszefu, var. Aspefu.
47. Pa, or Pa-mu.

III.

48. Punt (30).
49. 'Ahfu.
50. Ammessu (36).
51. Mensau (35)
52. 'Afuah.
53. Qes (?)-u'ahu.
54. Meh-zem'a.
55. 'Auhul (Aualites M.)
56. A'aazem.
57. Memeth, Emmetu.
58. Mebuthu, Embutu, 32.
59. Ze (?)-lethet, var. Utuleth-t.
60. Setehebu, 33.
61. Shâzetom, 34.
62. Zehtom.
63. Hekfuh-t (otherwise named Ahâk-fuh, 38).
64. Uten-t, Uthen-t, 39.
65. Bâm (41).
66. Meset, or Emset, 40.
67. Ab.
68. Aah.
69. Keket, 43.
70. Sed.
71. S . . .
72. Kaam (Nubian country, mentioned in an inscription of the sixth dynasty).
73. Aaa, 44.
74. Aft, 45.
75. Mafut.
76. Thetena (Dedan), 47.
77. Hibu (in Abusimbel called Hibuu).

78. Emza, Maza, 42 (var. aa.)
79. Bethbeth.
80. Minut.
81. Taseth.
82. Du, Tuh.
83. Bepeseth.
84. Fu-sha.
85. Setha.
86. Kenseth (Nubian land, frequently called Kens-t).
87. Ta-sa.
88. Thehennu (Egyptian name for the Marmarides.)
89. Hu'at.
90. Zezes (Zazasas, 4).
91. Tep-nukheb.
92. Bash.
93. Mas.
94. Ta-sem-ma.
95. Khesekhet.
96. Ta-a.
97. Tetheres.
98. Urth.
99. Rethen-pen (36).
100. Ubeh (37).
101. Nehes-t (29).
102. Tethenes (30).
103. Zes (Zesan, 31).
104. 'Au ('aa, 32).
105. Ta-shesh-t (24).
106. Behes-t (25).
107. Shas (Shasi, 26).
108. Beket (27 land in Upper Nubia).
109. Ashes-th.
110. Tua.
111. Su (Sai, town of the Automoles).
112. Maseth, Mes-demu.
113. Maseroth, 31.
114. Ha-samu (Hasmona 4, Mos, 33, 30).
115. Aau (Aua, country near Adulis).
116. Ab-thesa.
117. Kenes-th (Balsam land, mentioned with Uden).
118. . . . . heb.
119. . . . . nhekeb.
120. Mer-ahet-aau.
121. Emha.
122. Reh-hir.
123. destroyed.
124. Khenbi.
125. Hezi.
126. Tom . . . rep.
127. Merh qesu.
128. Aath-t.
129. Fushen.
130. . . . athnep.
131-133. destroyed.
134. Seh-tom.
135. destroyed.
136. . . . 'ahet.
137. destroyed.
138. . . . beh-ke.
139. . . . nnka.
140. Saah.
141. . . . aha.
142. 'Azem.
143. . . . agena.
144-149. destroyed.
150. Antetupes.
151. . . . shensem.
152. . . . ak.
153. Khaa-thehem.
154. Kan (Kane).
155. Aakhet.
156. Emeseshes.
157. Aasen.

158. Aasen.
159. destroyed.
160. . . . sethen.
161-164. destroyed.
165. Kethenes.
166. . . . akhes.
167. . . . aahes.
168-170. destroyed.
171. (Ab ?)-si.
172-177. destroyed.
178. Then-se.
179. Aar.
180. Asteses.
181. Heben.
182. A-mu-bes.
183. Minnut.
184. Uden-t (Vedan, of the Bible, yielded balsam and the stone Hemak).
185. Uaa.
189-193. destroyed.
194. Aser-hebu.
195. . . . lether.
196. . . . busha.
197. 'ahuu . . l.
198. Anhim . . u.
199. . . . zeh. . .
200-206. destroyed.
207. Hatu.
208. Aaui.
209. Ant-beth.
210. Teb-ana. . .
211. An-a.
212-217. destroyed.
218. Neh-fu, 31 (Upper Nubian land).
219. Thenusuu (Tenesin, a country, near Meroe).
220. . . . . a . .
221. Paut.
222. . . . fubu.
223. U-(Zed ?)-au.
224. (Zed ?)-hau.
225. Atega (compare the Athacæ in Abyssinia).
226. Abua.
227. An-shefu.
228. . . . 'at.
229. . . . rhetom.
230-233. destroyed.
234. . . . zehem.
235. Uazetam.
236. . . . mel.
237-243. destroyed.
244. Aasi-(mer ?)
245. Aqesu.
246. Ahath-(mer ?) [Ahatheh, 22.]
247. destroyed [H . . . nuter, 23.]
248. Tu (mer ?) (14).
249. Shebbet (15)
250. Dezuuth (16).
251. A'ashu [A'ashaa, 17].
252. Za, Thehunnu (18).
253. Tepes-tom (Petentom, 9, place in Nubia.)
254. Ai-mennu (10).
255. Absafu (country in Upper Nubia, 11).
256. Hafu (Hufu, 12).
257. Afu . . . (Afu, 13).
258. . . . zem . . a.
259. destroyed.
260. . . . iu.
261. Ah . . ut.
262-269. destroyed.[1]

[1] The remarks included in the brackets relate to the identifying of names known from other sources in these extensive

In the two halls situated to the north-west of the Hall of Columns (marked Y—Y′ on the plan of Mariette-bey) the savant just mentioned discovered in his excavations a succession of wonderful representations, which are clearly copies of similar objects on the splendid building of Der-el-bahri.[1]

I mean the pictures true to nature (that is, in an Egyptian sense) of the world of plants and animals which the warriors, in their campaigns in the north and south, had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with, by the command of the king, who, like King Solomon, manifested a great love for researches in natural history, so much so that four unknown birds gave him greater pleasure (see above, page 313) than the war contribution of a whole country. The hand of an unknown artist transmitted the picture of them to posterity. We see water-lilies as high as trees, plants of a growth like cactuses, all sorts of trees and shrubs,

countries as they here and there occurred to me on particular monuments in Nubia, or otherwise in the historians, with their Egyptian designations. An M attached to them has reference to the identification of them by Monsieur Mariette, which depends upon deeper researches, and of which a certain selection must not be considered as correctly ascertained. There still remains a rich field open for later labours. The names and the numbers included in angular brackets relate to an epitome of the same lists of the time of Ramses the Third (see Duemichen. Inscriptions, Vol. I. Table XIII.). The numbers on the right refer to another list of the reign of Amenhotep the Third. The Ramses list gives the information that the kings according to their pleasure copied on the walls from their official catalogue of cities and countries what they pleased. A regular succession and order was entirely disregarded.

[1] See above, page 304.

leaves, flowers, and fruits (melons and pomegranates; the last especially are represented in the richest profusion, and seem to have been especially liked by the Egyptians). Oxen and calves also figure, and among them a wonderful animal with three horns. There were also herons, sparrow-hawks, geese, and doves. All these objects appear gaily intermixed in these pictures, as suited the simple child-like conception of the artist to represent the unknown products of a foreign world. The principal inscription on them teaches us besides, as follows:—

Here are all sorts of plants and all sorts of flowers of the land of Ta-nuter ('Holy Land')—(which the king) [discovered]—then, when he went to the land of Ruthen to conquer that land, as his father Amon ordered him. They are under his feet (from now until) an eternity (of coming) years. The king speaks thus: 'I swear by the sun, and I call to witness my father Amon, that all is plain truth; there is no trace of self-deception in that which I relate. What the splendid soil brings forth of productions, I have had portrayed (in these pictures), with the intention to offer them to my father Amon, in this great temple of Amon, as a memorial for all times.'

A second inscription, valuable from the date affixed to it, is shorter, namely:—

In the year 25, under King Thutmas III. (may he live for ever), these are the plants which the king has found in the land of Ruthen.

The first and longer inscription appears to contain a clear, one might almost say, an intentional misrepresentation of real facts. The historical traditions of the monuments do not relate one syllable about any campaign of the king in the Holy Land, situated far in the south, at least not before the twenty-fifth year of the

reign of Thutmes III. On the other hand, the way to Ruthen, or Canaan, did not lie through the Holy Land. The tributes imposed upon the lands of the south were yearly brought by the inhabitants to Egypt, without their being compelled to do so by any particular campaign. In conclusion, there remains only this supposition, that the name of the Holy Land (or literally the Land of the Gods) was extended to the whole of Arabia, so that the king in his passage through the Arabian territory to Canaan, became acquainted with it. It is possible that the king occasionally had skirted the peninsula of Sinai in some of his campaigns, but even this supposition has no particular probability in its favour, since these regions belong to the most melancholy and sterile places of Arabia.[1] If, then, 'the Land of the Gods' is to be considered as an allusion to Ruthen-Canaan, in a biblical sense, I maintain that this is devoid of all proof.

The priests of Amon, whose temple and treasuries the king had remembered in the most generous manner, would not content themselves with perpetuating, for the remembrance of coming generations, the victories of this incomparable Pharaoh on written memorial tablets. An unknown poet, out of the number of the holy fathers, felt himself inspired to sing in measured words the glory of the king, and the might and grandeur of the god Amon. His songs outlived the storms of time and the enmity of man. Having

[1] Yet I will remark beforehand to the reader, that in a rock inscription of the twenty-fifth year of this king (see further on), the peninsula of Sinai is designated by the term 'land of the gods.'

been well concealed, the tall granite tablet adorns at this day the rooms of the Egyptian Museum at Boolaq. As Moses, after the overthrow of Pharaoh and his host in the Reedy Sea, sang a fervent hymn of praise to exalt the wondrous might and strength of the eternal God, so, 300 years before the wise legislator of the Jewish people, the nameless seer of Amon praised, after his own fashion, his god and his king. Thus run his words :—

1. 'Come to me,' said Amon, 'and enjoy yourself, and admire my excellences.

'Thou, my son, who honourest me, Thutmus the 3rd, ever living.

'I shine in the light of the morning sun through thy love.

2. 'And my heart is enraptured, if thou directest thy noble step to my Temple.

'My hands sink on thy body for the welfare of thy existence. Delightful is thy goodness for my holy image.

'I stand upright there

3 'In my dwelling.

'Therefore will I mark thee out as wonderful. I give thee power and victory over all lands.

'All people shall feel a terror before thy soul.

'And shall fear thee to the utmost ends of the world, to the

4. 'four props of Heaven.

'I let thy strength grow great in all bodies.

'I let thy war-cry resound in all the lands of foreign peoples.

'Let the kings of the world be all at once in thy grasp.

5. 'I stretch out my own hands.

'I bind thee with bands, and enclose for thee the wandering Nubians to ten thousands and thousands.

'Those who inhabit the north, let them be taken prisoners by hundreds of thousands.

6. 'I place thy gainsayers under thy feet.

'Strike the host of thine enemies.

'Also I give thee the earth, in its length and in its breadth.

'Let the inhabitants of the west and of the east be thy subjects

7. 'Pass through with joyful heart the lands which none have trodden till thy time.

'I will be thy leader; reach them;

'pass through the great ring of water

8. 'in the land of Naharain, in full victorious power.

'It is my will that the peoples hear thy war-cry, which penetrates to their caverns.

'I have taken away from their nostrils the breath of life.

9. 'I make thy manly courage penetrate even to their hearts.

'My crown on thy head is a consuming fire;

'It goes forth and conquers the false brood of the Kittim.

10. 'By the sparkle of its flames the lords among them are turned to ashes.

'It cuts off the heads of the 'Aamu; they cannot escape;

'It strikes to the ground whoever turns himself round before its strength.

11. 'I make thy victories to go on through all nations;

'My royal serpent shines on thy forehead,

'And thy enemy is reduced to nothing as far as the horizon.

'They come and bring the tribute on their shoulders,

'And bow themselves

12. 'Before thy Holiness; for such is my will.

'I make the rebellious ones fall down exhausted near thee,

'A burning fire in their hearts, and in their limbs a trembling.

13. 'I came, and thou smotest the princes of Zahi.

'I scatter them under thy feet over all their lands.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like the beaming (sun).

'Thou shinest in sight of them in my form.

14. 'I came, and thou smotest those who dwell in Asia,

'Thou madest prisoners the goatherds of Ruthen.

'I make them behold thy Holiness in the adornment of thy royal dignity,

'As thou graspest the weapons on the war-chariots.

15. 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the East,

'Thou camest to those who dwell in the territories of the Holy Land.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like the star Canopus,

'Which pours his light in a glance of fire

'When he disperses the morning dew.

16. 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the West,

'Kefa (Phœnicia) and Asebi (Cyprus) fear thee.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like a young bull.

'Full of courage, when he whets his horns, he is unapproachable.

17. 'I came, and thou smotest the subjects of their lords;

'The land of Mathen trembles for fear of thee.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like a crocodile,

'The terrible one in the water; he is not to be encountered.

18. 'I came, and thou smotest the islanders in the middle of the great sea,

'Thy war-cry is over them.

'I make them behold thy Holiness as the avenger,

'Who appears on the back of his sacrifice.

19. 'I came, and thou smotest the land of the Thuhen;

'The people of Uthent is in thy power.

'I make them behold thy Holiness as a lion, with a fierce eye,

'Who leaves his den and stalks through the valleys.

20. 'I came, and thou smotest the hinder lands,

'The circuit of the Great Sea is bound in thy grasp.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like the hovering sparrow-hawk.

'Which seizes with his glance whatever pleases him.

21. 'I came, and thou smotest the lands in front;

'Those who sit upon the sand thou hast made prisoners alive.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like the jackal of the south;

'A concealed wanderer he passes through the land.

22. 'I came, and thou smotest the nomad tribes of Nubia,

'Even to the land of Shat, which is in thy grasp.

'I make them behold thy Holiness like thy pair of brothers,

'Whose hands I have united to bless thee.

23. 'As for thy pair of sisters, I make them shed on thee good fortune and prosperity.

'My hands in the height of heaven ward off misfortune;

'I protect thee, my beloved son,

'The powerful bull, who didst stand up as king in Thebes,

'Whom I have begotten out of [my loins],

24. 'Thutmes, who lives for evermore,

'Who has shown all love to my Being.

'Thou hast raised my dwelling in long-lasting works,

'More extensive and broader than they have ever been.
'A great gate [protects against the entrance of the impious].
25. 'Thou hast established joyful feasts in favour of Amon.
'Greater are thy monuments than those of all former kings.
'I gave thee the order to execute them,
'And thou hast understood it.
'Therefore I place thee on the chair of Hor for never-ending many years.
'Conduct and guide the living generations!'

Hymns of praise to the Pharaohs, in the spirit of the song of victory we have just cited, were a favourite exercise with the ancient poets after the return of the kings from abroad. We possess excellent performances of this kind, which in form and language reach the very height of poetic art. Already does the conviction force itself upon the competent critic, that every line, nay each word, in these poetic performances has been carefully thought out and chosen, and that the empty rhetorical phrases which create suspicion are only to be found in the translations that have been given, but not in the original texts when properly understood. But even in the latter case, our modern languages, with the modern ideas they are formed to express, are powerless to render the tone which pervades the songs of antiquity. A Homer remains Homer only in his Grecian garb.

The foregoing song of victory of the unknown Theban poet, the similar songs of victory in honour of the kings Ramses II. and III., the heroic song of the poet Pentaur on the great deeds of king Ramses II. during his campaign against the king of Kadesh and his allies, will remain for all times unequalled specimens of

the old Egyptian language at its highest epoch. Only one of these songs, the poem of the priest Pentaur, has as yet undergone an examination worthy of its contents, through the exhaustive researches of the late Viscount E. de Rougé, who was occupied upon it for many years. Very wisely the learned translator has refrained from rendering it in the form of verse; but even the dry translation of the words of the Egyptian poet, with a faithful adherence to the language of the original, is penetrated with the strong poetical spirit of antiquity, whose last bloom adorns the era of the Ramessids.[1]

The victories of our heroic king, who during his numerous campaigns brought the lands and cities of western Asia into his power, to whom Libya and the peoples of Nubia and Ethiopia, as far as the promontory now called Gardafui opposite the south coast of Arabia, were subject,—had brought to Egypt unnumbered prisoners of every race who, according to the old custom, found their fit occupation in the public works. It was principally to the great public edifices, and among these especially to the enlarged buildings of the temple of Amon at Ape (near Karnak), that the foreigners were forced to devote all their labour, under the superintendence of the Egyptian architects (Mer) and overseers (Rois), who had on their part to carry out the orders and directions

[1] For a translation of the famous poem of Pentaur on the heroic exploits of Ramses II. in his war against the Khita, and an account of the various forms in which it has been preserved, see Vol. II., pp. 45, and 52, foll.

of the royal head architect. In those days a certain Puam was clothed with this high office at the court of Pharaoh; his name is of Semitic origin, meaning 'one who has the mouth full of dinner.' The prisoners were obliged, in a manner answering to their condition, to undergo the severest labours at the buildings. To these belonged especially the baking of the bricks, as it is portrayed in so clear and lively a manner in the Book of Books in the description of the oppression of the children of Israel in Egypt.

Fate has preserved to us on the walls of a chamber in a tomb in the interior of the hill of Abd-el-Qurnah, in the region of the melancholy 'coffin-hill' (Du-neb-ankh), a very instructive pictorial representation, in which the pencil of the deceased master has portrayed in lively colours to future generations the industry of the prisoners. Far more convincing than the explanations, written by the side in old Egyptian letters and words, these curious drawings themselves allow us to recognise to their full extent the fate and the severe labour of the unfortunate prisoners. Some carry water in jugs from the tank hard by; others knead and cut up the loamy earth; others again, by the help of a wooden form, make the bricks, or place them carefully in long rows to dry; while the more intelligent among them carry out the work of building the walls. The words which are added as explanations of each occupation give us the authentic information that the labourers are captive people which Thutmes III. has carried away to build the temple of his father Amon. They explain that the 'baking of the bricks' is a work

for the new building of the provision-house of the god Amon, of Apet (the east side of Thebes), and they finally declare, in a copious manner, the strict superintendence of the steward over the foreigners in the following words—'(Here are seen) the prisoners which have been carried away as living prisoners in very great numbers; they work at the building with active fingers; their overseers show themselves in sight; these insist with vehemence, obeying the orders of the great skilled Lord (who prescribes to them) the works, and gives directions to the masters; (they are rewarded), with wine and all kinds of good dishes; they perform their service with a mind full of love for the king; they build for Thutmes III. a Holy of Holies for (the gods), may it be rewarded to him through a range of many years.'

The overseer (Rois) speaks thus to the labourers at the building: 'The stick is in my hand, be not idle.'

The picture and the words, which we have laid before our readers exactly as they have been transmitted to us, present an important illustration of the accounts in the Bible concerning the hard bondage of the Jews in Egypt. We also there read, 'And they set overseers over them, who oppressed them with hard servitude, for they built for Pharaoh the towns of Pithom and Rameses as treasure-cities.' 'And they made their life hard to them with severe work in clay and brick.' 'And the overseers urged them and said, Fulfil your day's work.'

According to the contents of the preceding inscription, the buildings were required for the carrying out

of two separate establishments in the frequently mentioned temple precincts of Ape, or Apet. The one consisted of the building of a provision-house, the other the carrying out of a Sokhem, or most holy place, which was always situated in the hindermost room of the Temple, surrounded on three sides with a row of secluded chambers. In an inscription which covers the whole wall near the most holy place of the Temple of Amon at Ape, mention is made of this building, as I will here explain. An eloquent wall, much destroyed on the upper side, give us true information of the gifts of King Thutmes III. to the god Amon of Ape and his temple there.[1]

It next reports how the king had dedicated for the different yearly feasts of the god various precious gifts to the temple as a perpetual possession. Among these there was a beautiful harp, inlaid with silver and gold, with blue, green, and other precious stones, that upon it might be sung the praises of the majesty of the god in all his festivals and under all his names. Next there is mention how the Pharaoh had given the order to have executed numerous gates (sebkhet), with locks of copper and dark ore, to protect the Holy of Holies against unwarranted intrusion. Statues of the god, rendering accurately the form of the king and his countenance, were executed by the hand of a most accomplished artist, with the side note; 'the execution was of such a kind as one had never seen in this country since the time of the sun-god Ra.' To this was joined the de-

[1] The inscription was for the first time completely published in Marriette's beautiful work on Karnak (see Tables 15 and 16).

scription of obelisks that were raised, in the erection of which, silver, gold, iron, and copper were not spared, and which now shine in their splendour on the surface of the water, and fill the land with their light like the stars on the body of the heavenly goddess Nut.' In a similar way the impression produced by the obelisks of Queen Hashop is described in an inscription on the base, 'The woman-king Makara, the gold among kings, she has executed (these obelisks) as her memorial for her father, Amon of Thebes, since she had erected to him two large obelisks of hard granite of the South; their tops are covered with copper of the best war tributes of all countries; they are seen a great many miles off; it is a flood of shining splendour when the sun rises between the two.' A statue of the follower of Horus, that is, of the king, a beautiful sacrificial table, and many altars, must be added to the previous works. Many other gifts follow afterwards, as a large jar, in worked copper, of seven ells high, and many kinds of utensils of silver, gold, and iron, all newly given.

In the fifteenth year of the twenty-second Pachons the king had ordered a completely new exhibition of the property of the temple. Among other things the temple was provided with a number of foreign persons of the south and of the north, partly consisting of children of the kings of the land of Ruthen (of Kanaan) and of the southern Khont-Hon-Nofer. Gardens were given to the temple to grow flowers and vegetables, and 1,800 acres of arable land were given as a permanent possession in various parts of Upper and Lower

Egypt. The tribute also in vegetables, wine, birds, beasts, and so forth, was once for all fixed, and the number of the temples of the god (his favourite seats) in other districts of the country were carefully designated, and the sacrifices in the temple were in like manner granted with royal generosity. In a word, 'The king did more than all his predecessors from the beginning, and had proved himself a complete master of the holy sciences.'

The artists in useful works had in this way found their particular employment. The most remarkable works of their hands were executed in succession, mostly gates, the names of which (for each gate had its own name) may clearly be read at the present day in its place. Of one particular part of the temple (the complete description of which has unfortunately been destroyed in the lapse of time) there is written, 'The king found this in the form of a brick building, in a very dilapidated condition, being a work of his ancestors. The king with his own hand conducted the solemn festival of the laying of the foundation stone for this monument.' For it was his intention to raise completely new buildings in Ape, and to beautify the dwelling of Amon and his family of gods. Thus was the temple reconstructed. The several dwellings of the gods in it (they were called Naos by the Greeks) were chiselled out of huge blocks of stone (the so-called monoliths), with new doors of acacia wood. Into these came the statues of the gods, as also the statues of his ancestors, the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt. After the position of the building had been fixed, answer-

ing to the positions of the four quarters of heaven, the great stone gates were erected. 'The first had doors of real acacia wood, covered with plates of gold, fastened with black metal (copper) and iron. On these were placed the full name of the king in copper, gold, and black metal.' The whole was inclosed on both sides by a splendid Bechen, or building with wings. Three gates stood in connection with this: the first bore the name 'Door of Thutmes III.; he exalted the greatness of Amon.' The second was called 'Gate of Thutmes III.; lasting is the gratitude of Amon.' The last was called the 'Gate of Thutmes III.; a great spirit is Amon.' 'They were covered with plates of real copper, and the sacrifices took their way through them.' The most important work for extent and execution was the Khesem, or Sekhem (the Holy of Holies), 'the favourite place of Amon,' built of hard stone of the Red Mountain (at Syene).

Thus stood the building; and there followed the thanks of the priests, which the continuation of the inscription portrays to us in poetic terms, and Amon is the central point of this writing—

'He gives to thee his kingdom. The crowns on the throne of Hor shall be placed upon thee. The remembrance of thee as king of Egypt will be lasting to thee. To thee has he granted the united world in peace. All nations bow themselves before thee.' 'We have heard,' thus say the courtiers, 'of the king's court, bringing salvation. Thou breathest in a pure life. Thy holiness is placed on the inlaid throne.' The judgments of the divine ones themselves are like

the words of the sun-god Ra at the beginning of all things.'

The king, flattered by the praise bestowed upon him, earnestly declares his services to the god. 'This building, which was carried out in his temple, shall be a remembrance of my benefactions to his dwelling. I shall remain preserved in the history of the latest times.'

The distinguished men of the court that were nearest to the king did not fail to present on their side in poetic terms their admiration to their new lord.

The answer of the king is not less grand in tone than the address to him we have just given. Referring to his buildings and presents, he remarks, 'To be always existing, that is, Thebes. To be ever existing, that is, the Theban Amon. The sun in Hermonthis, whose eye shines in this land.'

The continuation of his high-flown words makes us feel certain that Thutmes III. had just been crowned, and addressed to those present a kind of throne speech on receiving his new dynasty. 'God Amon,' so he assures us,' is more enraptured with me than with all the kings which have existed in this country since it was founded. I am his son, who loves his holiness, for that means that my royal being loves itself. All nations bow themselves before my spirit. The fear of me is in the hearts of foreign nations. (God Amon) he has poured strength into my hands to extend the boundaries of Egypt.'

'The assumption that this portion of the inscription relates to the accession of the king, which had just

taken place, is clearly supported by the fact which I have now first discovered in an old Egyptian record, that the origin of the different throne names of the king[1] may be explained by a paraphrase.

On the relations to Thut in the name Thutmes I. we have already remarked. The king states this expressly in the words, 'My birth is to be compared to that of the God of Sier,' (the particular name of the temple of Thut in Hermopolis). Under the new name which had been given to the king since the festival of his accession to the throne, there is the expression Sam-ta or -taui, 'uniter of the two worlds.' The following words found this appellation on the words spoken by the king, 'he (Amon) has united (sam) the countries (taui) of all the gods in this my name, Thutmes Sam-ta.'

In the injured state of the inscription I must leave it to the reader to recognise in the following translation between the lines a continuation of the previous explanation.

. . . . in this my (name): lord of the double crown; augmenter of the empire like the sun in Heaven; he has given me the form of a golden sparrow-hawk; he has given me his power and his strength; I adorn myself in a lordly manner with his crown in this my name, the (3rd) (38) (golden sparrow-hawk, mighty one, powerful one, splendid crowns . . . . . .) my crown. The king's name was written for me alone. He has exhibited my picture of a sparrow-hawk on the base, he has made me strong like a strong bull. He has granted my coronation in the interior of Thebes. (39) [(in this my name) (the first); strong bull crowned in Thebes.]

The continuation of the inscription, in spite of its injured condition, contains very important references to the

[1] Compare pp. 60, 61.

relation of the king with his sister, to whom, in the intercession, allusion under the name of 'her' is often made.

'What I relate,' so remarks the king, 'is no vain imagination; she was astonishing in the sight of men, and as a secret for the hearts of the gods who know it all. But she did not know it, since no one was (for her) except herself.' He relates further how he was to be likened to a young Horus in the marshy country of Kheb (a commonly occurring mode of speech of the young kings), and how he was obliged to remain in the town of Buto of the north. There Thutmes III. remained without office or position in the Temple of Amon for it 'is no fable'—thus he assures us—'as long as I was a child and a boy I remained in his temple; never once as a seer of the god did I hold an office.'

We have here an instructive and remarkable inscription before our eyes, the contents of which throws from all sides an unsuspected light on Thutmes and his solitary youth. He had been banished to the marshy country, difficult of access, so as to remove him from the sight of his faithful subjects and to destroy all remembrance of him. I have already before remarked[1] on the importance of this locality in an historical sense, and will take the opportunity later more fully to speak of Buto and its marshes. A second (unfortunately again half destroyed) report on the building and the personal laying of the foundation stone of a temple gives us the date of the year, 24 of the reign of the king. It is upon a large stone tablet, the last remains of which are now preserved in Boolaq. Fortunately the first and most

[1] Compare p. 313.

important lines of the inscription are well preserved, and give us a general view into the circumstances. After the assumption of the official name of the king, as we mentioned just now, it is remarked that—

According to the express order of the king himself, this was put down in writing; communications were orally carried on as to the erecting of a memorial building, the three sides of which bend toward the canal . . . . then I (the king) wished to place a memorial to my father Amon-Ra in Ape, to erect (his) dwelling, which glorifies the well to fix (the temple territory of) Kheft-hir-neb-s, the favourite seat of my father from the beginning. To the Theban Amon-Ra, to him I wished to carry this out on this territory, of hard stone, founding it of massive size. But because (the canal was there, which conducts) the water to the temple of the God Nun, on the arrival of his anniversary, I built him another temple, with a loving heart, and let him be brought in there. What I did for him happened for the first time. Ready stands there the temple to the east of this temple. There I found that the wall round it was built of brick and that the soil was (deeply hollowed out, so I sunk the soil) to give more room for the water to this temple. It had to be cleaned out. I had the dirt removed, and the dams pulled down, which were near it. So the space is now clear. I allowed this place to be built upon, on which the surrounding wall stood, to carry out in it this memorial building, with the desire to found this splendid temple to (the God Amon of) Ape. It is to be built new. The (official) plan of (the architect) made the beginning. Never have I set out such a memorial to any other. I say that in all truth, for I know every man, who knows nothing about me, and speaks lies. But that which has happened is no trumped-up invention in place of the truth, or a knowing deception intended for this purpose, that it may bear the appearance of truth. I gave the order to prepare the cord and pegs (for the laying of the foundation) in my presence. The advent of the day of the new moon was fixed for the festival of the laying of the foundation-stone of this memorial.

In the year 34, on the last day of the month Mekhir, on the festival of the 10th day of Amon's festival on his splendid feast of Southern Ape? . . . .) then was a sacrifice offered to the god (in) his great place. After this I went in, to accompany the father

Amon. The god went thither on his feet, to celebrate his beautiful festival. And the Holiness of this god was wonderful to behold. [Then drew near the form] of this god. The cord and the pegs were ready. Then his Holiness placed me before him, towards this memorial. And I began. Then was the Holiness of this god full of joy at this memorial, on account of my love for him. Then [the Holiness] of this god went further, and the beautiful feast was celebrated to my lord. Then I came forward, yes I, to complete the business of the laying of the foundation stone, because . . . . . [before] him. He went out, and the work of the first stroke of the hammer for the laying of the foundation stone was to be performed. Then the Holiness of this divine one wished himself to give the first stroke of the hammer . . . . [to keep out the water] of the inundations of the fields . . . . . of the pickaxe. The lines of the fields were drawn . . . . . all that he had done. Then was I full of joy, when I saw the great wonder, which my father had done for me . . . . . My heart was in a joyful humour at that beautiful procession, to make a beginning of this memorial. There was laid in the foundation-stone a document with all the names of the great circle of the gods of Thebes, the gods and the goddesses . . . . and all men rejoiced. After this . . . . of copper was prepared for him.

Here both the stone and the inscription break off.[1]

What gives to this record about the delivering over of the building a very special importance is the new reference to the enmity of his sister and her associates. The words of the king, 'I know every man, who knows nothing of me,' the assurances that he had made no memorial erected by others his own, and that he spoke the truth, can scarcely bear any other explanation than that they appear to be expressions deliberately aimed at the sister-colleague who dealt in deceit and lies, and who, on the monuments which have been

[1] The whole inscription is printed in Mariette's *Karnak*, Plate 19. Some signs in the hieroglyphic text need rectification.

preserved to our time, with unsparing hand chiselled out the names of her own brother and husband, and replaced them by her own.

The memorial stone just cited was found, as Mariette assures us, in a side-room on the north-west side of the holy of holies of the temple of Karnak. As the building of the Sekhem or holy of holies had already been recorded as quite finished in the inscription of the 15th year, there is no alternative but to assume that Thutmes III., in the 24th year of his reign, had built the whole northern wing of the temple, after diverting the canal, and removing the temple of the god of the inundation (Nun) connected with it, which had stood in the way. The improvements made by him in the temple of Karnak, and their union and restoration according to the plans of their original builders—which, as seen in the remains still existing, Mariette-Bey has exhibited in all their details to the learned world in his admirable work on Karnak—enable us to recognise at the first glance the lion's share which must be assigned to the great Thutmes III., among all the royal builders, as the founder of the several edifices of the temple.

Besides these central parts of the magnificent temple-buildings of Amon at Ape, in the neighbourhood of the holy of holies or the so-called 'great seat,' Thutmes III., in the course of his long reign, erected the stupendous Hall of Pillars (see p. 348) and the chambers and corridors belonging to it on the east, and the series of gigantic propylæa on the south. The Hall of Pillars of the king, called Khu-mennu, or

'splendid memorial,' was dedicated not only to the god Amon but also to the deified rulers, whom Thutmes III. acknowledged as his legitimate predecessors on the throne, and as the ancestors of his own house. Here, in one of the chambers situated towards the south, was found that celebrated wall of the kings which is known to science under the designation of the Table of Kings of Karnak. In this the Pharaoh traces back his pedigree to his great ancestor Senoferu, of the 3rd dynasty (of Memphis), and reckons the kings Assa, Pepi, the petty kings of the name of Antef, the famous sovereigns of the 12th dynasty, and some 30 princes of the 13th, as his ancestors.

The great southern propylæa of the temple have suffered much from the corroding tooth of time and the destroying hand of man. But even the remains which have survived, a heap of lonely ruins, enable us to judge of the high perfection of the artistic powers, which created such almost unrivalled master-works and were able, by means to us inexplicable, to overcome the resistance of the hardest stone. Whether we suffer our attention to dwell on the way in which these great masses of stone have been brought together and united in a complete structure, perfectly well arranged and producing the effect of symmetry alike in the whole and in the several parts; whether we feast our sight upon the marvellous ornamental work in stone, by means of which the artist's hand had the skill to delight us with a welcome interruption of the great plain surfaces; whether we gaze with astonished eyes upon the indescribable dignity and the kingly mien of the

remaining statues of standing or sitting Pharaohs and deities; whether, in fine, we admire the sharp cutting and the dexterity, never after attained, in the drawing of the hieroglyphics, which in long lines and columns cover walls, pillars, and sculptures, rather as ornaments than inscriptions: wherever we turn, there presents itself to us—the late heirs to that long-buried world of old—that sixteenth century before our era, the age of the Thutmes and their immediate successors, as the most perfect acmé of the old Egyptian art, as grand in its conception of the whole, as it was full of taste and refinement in the execution of the several parts.

Among the sculptures in the precincts of the temple, which have survived the destruction of time and men for nearly three centuries and a half, are several which claim our notice on account of their historical importance. These are the statues of the royal predecessors of our third Thutmes—his grandfather, father, and brother—which stand before the southern temple-wings (propylæa).

The first statue, a ruined colossal torso of reddish silicious sandstone, represents a sitting Pharaoh. An inscription on his girdle designates him as Thutmes I., and we have therefore here the father of the king. The statue was erected by Thutmes II. to the honour of the deceased king, with whom was also united the representation of the god Amon himself, according to an idea common with the Egyptians. This is clearly stated in one of the appended inscriptions: 'King Thutmes II. has erected this monument as his memorial to his father, and to the Theban Amon-Ra, the

heavenly inhabitant of Ape.' The second side inscription contains a new contribution to our knowledge of the destructive anger of the ambitious Hashop, who destroyed the monument of her brother, erected to the honour of her own father, until at last Thutmes III. ordered the statue to be re-erected in good condition. Thus says, in spite of breaks, the following words upon it: '(The Lord of the land and the king) Thutmes III. the worshipper of the Theban Amon (has ordered again to be erected this monument, which was destroyed when he entered) the town Ni (Thebes) of the south land in the year 42, on the 22nd day of the month Thot, with the intention that the name of his father Thutmes I. should be preserved.' By the side of his father there is a small picture of his daughter, the until now unknown 'king's daughter and king's wife, the worshipper of her father, Mut-Nofer-i.' Another statue of the same king bears besides the name of Pharaoh, a half-destroyed additional inscription, which it is, however, easy to complete in the following manner: 'This statue was re-erected in good condition (in 22nd year of the reign of Thutmes III.')

A similar inscription covers the statue of Amen-Hotep I., the grandfather of our Thutmes III. After the names of that king follow the words, 'This statue was re-erected in good condition in the 22nd year of the reign of Thutmes III.'

As we shall pass over in silence the statues of Thutmes III., we must call especial attention to the care which was taken by this king in every way to

honour the remembrance of his relations, in contrast to Hashop, the joint queen, to whom self-honour and self-glorification appeared as the only object of her royal power.

That the remembrance of his forefathers was not confined to his immediate relations, but extended back to the first ancestors of his house, I have above shown by my reference to the foundation of a hall of ancestors by the commands of Thutmes III., 'in the splendid memorial' to the east of Ape. The inscription, which is there seen on the entrances, will prove this more clearly than all other statements; the words of this run, after leaving out the long official names: 'Long live the king Thutmes III.; he has built this his memorial in remembrance of his father Amon-Ra of Thebes in Ape.' 'To him,' so runs the inscription, 'was built this great festive hall, for the duration of many never-ending years, all new, of splendid clear stone of the mountain An; it shines brilliantly like the light of heaven, well executed is it as a work for eternity; the king has given the order that the names of his ancestors should be placed upon it, to let their remembrance bloom afresh, that all their likenesses (?) may be cut out of (. . . .), and that to them may be again established great sacrifices, more than (happened in the times of early kings.')

A beautifully carved wall inscription in the second hall of the holy of holies of Ape, gives a second reference to the remembrance of his forefathers, showing how dear they were to the heart of king Thutmes III., and how great was his endeavour to

preserve their monuments. All the first words which introduce the two first lines have been destroyed by the stone being broken away, yet the contents of the inscription cannot be mistaken.[1] 'Because nobody has given new stone to cover the building of the father Thutmes I., and because no one has finished the building of Thutmes I., and the building of the forefathers of the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt, opposite his building may my name be preserved lastingly, on the building which was executed for the father Amon to all eternity.'

This short inscription is in a certain sense very eloquent; we may clearly read between the lines the reproach which is made against Queen Hashop, that she had entirely neglected the monuments of her father and of her ancestors. The stage temple of Der-el-bahri lay nearer, doubtless, to her heart than the good old custom of continuing the buildings of the imperial temples of Ape, to the honour of the gods and of her ancestors.

The proud and magnificent building at the foot of the steep wall of rock which descended by broad steps to the plain in the direction of the Nile, the wonderful expanse of variegated colonnades and richly painted wall surfaces which shone afar off and presented to the eye of the beholder a fabulous world of wonders, must naturally have better answered to the female spirit and taste of an art-loving queen than the solemn

[1] See Table 32, in Mariette's work upon Karnak. The words at the beginning must be corrected to 'erta aner.'

but at the same time dignified buildings of the temple of Amon, which were built on an old plan long before laid down by former kings and their architects.

The architectural works which the will and order of Thutmes III. erected on the territory of the 'great town' (Ni-a) we must pass over in silence, since only ruins and fragments show their existence, and no important historical tradition is connected with them. That the king, at any rate to a certain extent, erased the inscription and names of his ambitious sister, we have already mentioned.

In conclusion, we will only remark upon the re-erection of an ancient temple, which had fallen into decay, and which lay in ruins on the territory of the present town of Medinet-Aboo. Thutmes erected an entirely new temple structure, in hard stone, near the newly completed Khesem, or 'holy of holies;' he restored it as a 'solid building, after he found that it was hastening to decay,'—thus speaks a text on the spot about it. Another inscription there remarks further: 'He has erected this memorial building to his father, the king of the gods, Amon-Ra, since he carried out this great house of the gods on the place of the ruins of the west district,—that is, the splendid seat of Amon, built by Thutmes.[1]

The great victorious wars during the long and fortunate reign of one Pharaoh had, as a consequence, enabled him to execute numerous buildings and artistic works, which covered the soil in all parts of the land, and adorned the temples of the principal towns.

[1] See Denkm. III. 38, c–d.

The immense numbers of the prisoners brought home were employed on the buildings in the most suitable manner, and their painful existence was made the most use of. Under the government, therefore, of Thutmes III., the country soon had to boast of a whole world of monuments, from its furthest southern boundary to the coast of the Mediterranean sea on the north, the ruins of which still to this day point out the principal sites of these erections. We can here only limit ourselves to point out the best known buildings, and may perhaps pass over monuments of this time which we have not visited or have not known, but which bear the name of this king.

It is difficult to say how far south the Egyptian boundary extended under the reign of our hero; generally the inscriptions designate by the general expression Ap- or Up-ta, that is, 'horn point of the land,' the furthest point at that time in the south; while other inscriptions designate the country of Karoo, Kaloo, or Kari, the land on the southern boundary. These names have been supposed to refer to the present Galla peoples, but I would rather give the preference to the old name Koloe. Thus was named a place in the far south, which according to the statement of Ptolemy was situated on the fourth degree, fifteen minutes, of north latitude, in these countries. Naturally all monumental history is silent; the works of Thutmes III. first show themselves sixteen degrees more to the north in the lower Nubian country, from the frontier fortress of Semne as far as the Island of Elephantine, opposite to the present town of Assooan.

The king erected the temple of Semne in honour of the Nubian-Libyan god Didoon or Didioon, and in memory of his great ancestor Oosurtasen III., as we have already related. An earlier structure had here been erected by his ancestors, at least so says the dedication inscription, dating in the 2nd year on the 7th Paoni, the translation of which we will now give.

'King Thutmes III. has erected this building to the memory of his father, the Nubian god Didioon, and of the king Khakaenra (Oosurtasen III.), and dedicated to him this temple, in splendid clear Nubian stone, for the king had found existing before a very decayed work in brick.'

On the opposite side of the river, in the country which was called Kumme in antiquity as well as in modern times, another temple was founded by the king (the stones were quarried in the mountain of Shaa-t), and was dedicated to the god of the cataract, Num or Khnum.

In the neighbourhood of the second cataract, on the western shore of the river, opposite the large village of Wadi-Halfa, in the winter of 1875, I discovered the last remains of a temple on the bank, and I could clearly recognise the traces of a long dedicatory inscription. The temple lay close to the river, and steps led upwards to it. This was the great temple of Boohan, as the whole surrounding country was called in ancient times ; the Boôn of the Greek historians.

In the rock tombs of Ellesieh, not far distant from the great and very ancient fortress of Ibrim (Primis), there is to this day visible a memorial as well of the king as also of Nahi the governor of the South.

The inscriptions mention 'the tributes of the peoples of the South in gold, ebony, and ivory,' which Nahi was accustomed to forward to his royal master. A memorial stone at the same place exhibits a longer inscription, which begins with the date of 'the 51st year, the month of Paoni, the 5th day.'

The view must have been wonderfully fine of the temple which arose on the Island of Elephantine, a building erected by Thutmes III. and his successors down to the third Amen-hotep, in honour of the god of the country, Khnum. As late as the beginning of this century the draughtsmen of the French expedition were able to exhibit it on paper in its full completeness, but at the present day scarcely more than two or three stones have remained in their old places.

Science must all the more deeply deplore such a loss, as even the few last traces of it have proved of great service. One of the inscribed blocks, a precious fragment of a once complete catalogue of the yearly feasts with their days, has given us the important information that in the reign of Thutmes III. the rising of the Sothis star, which usually took place on July 20, and marked the beginning of the fixed Egyptian year, happened on the 28th day of the month Epiphi.

This date, in consequence of its connection with the movement of the stars according to fixed laws, independently of every calculation on the basis of the unsettled chronological tables of a later historic tradition, may serve for all times as the sole foundation for fixing the years of the reign of Thutmes III. A strong confirmation of this is derived from the dates we have

already given above, according to which, in the 23rd regnal year of the king, the 21st of Pachons fell on a new moon, and in the 34th year the 30th of Mechir fell likewise on a new moon, and at the same time on the tenth day of another month. Double numbers of this sort, which we can recognise not unfrequently on the monuments, point to the knowledge and actual use both of a lunar year, and also of a fixed year, which held its place beside the old traditional vague year, and was sometimes brought in to aid the more exact determination of a date which seemed important.

In the crocodile city of Ombos, where the inhabitants worshipped the god Sebek, in Latopolis (now Esne), with a temple to the god Khnum, in Eileithyia (now El-kab), where the temple of Nokheb, the goddess of the South, was much frequented, in Hermonthis, with its temple of the warrior god of light, Menthu, the ancient tutelar lord of Thebes—the last ruins which have outlived the ravages of time point to former temples, which in the inscriptions boast of Thutmes III. as their builder.

We have already spoken fully and at length of his buildings in Thebes. For the sake of completeness we will here mention a sanctuary which the same king erected to the god Ptah, to the north of the great temple of Karnak. It was, indeed, only a modest habitation of the primeval god, whose beautiful temples in Memphis were not at all inferior in splendour and size to those of the god Amon.

The name of the very holy town of Abydus, in the interior of the country, with its splendid temple in

the desert of the time of the nineteenth dynasty, bids us delay a little longer and take a glance round at the buildings and the works of King Thutmes III. on this territory. Although scarcely one stone of the once existing monuments has been preserved to our days, yet fate has been kind enough to give the most complete proof of their former existence. I allude to the important (but unfortunately half destroyed) document on stone which was found in Abydus, and at present is preserved in the old Egyptian collection at Boulaq. What has been preserved of the long inscription consists of twenty-one long lines of the best writing.

We must here, in explanation, remark that the chief seat of the Osiris worship in Upper Egypt was in Abydus, as in Lower Egypt it was the town of Busiris the Doodoo of the monuments. Here in Abydus was supposed to be the head of the god whose limbs had been divided into many parts, and the place was very much venerated, even to Greek times, by the pious pilgrims who were accustomed to visit the mysterious place of the tomb of Osiris. Distinguished Egyptians of Pataros liked, after their decease, to be placed in the neighbourhood of the King of the West and of the dead, so as to await their happy second birth in a pure beam of light. The kings, especially those of the eleventh dynasty, strove to show their particular veneration of the great god by buildings and presents to his temple on the general feast of the dead on the 18th and 19th of Thot, as well as on the particular Osiris festivals on the 13th of Tybi; and on the 3rd of Phamenoth the holy Seshem bark of the god

was brought through the fields of Oo-pak, so was called the holy soil around the town, and was placed on the lake amid mysterious ceremonies. The festival of the water procession of the god was celebrated in the stillness of night.

These remarks may serve for the necessary understanding of the contents of the document, which began with the date with which are connected the names and titles of the king. With these ended the official portion. Then followed the relation how the priests had gone to the king with the prayer to move him to remember generously the temple and god of Abydus, since, as it was declared literally,

This is a consolation for the hearts of men, and pleasing in the sight of the gods. Found a memorial to the god Osiris, worship the prince of the west, the great god from the first beginning of things. A vestibule of the god Toom is his place. Increase his honours, for this will do his heart good. Him have served through their works the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, so long as this world exists. Thou art (the king who will be rewarded for that) which thou (dedicatest) to him. Work for him, for the contentment of his heart; may that happen which he has allowed to happen in the land, that the holy of holies of the gods may prosper, and their houses (be renewed) for gold that is thine, together with silver; the earth-god Seb opens to thee what is in him; the god Thatanen (presents) to thee his possessions, there work for thee all peoples, since all the lands of the earth stand under thy command. No wish remains to thee unfulfilled; what is useful, that happens; what is commanded, that is done; what thy person desires, that takes shape!

Then gave the king to the keeper of his seal the commission to do the work, and to cause to come (workmen in numbers, and to deliver) provision for those belonging to them. And each one of the temple-artists knew the plan and was well instructed in the mode of carrying it out. No one betook himself away from that which was given him to do (namely, to build) a monument

to his father (Osiris), with the intention to dedicate it for a long duration, and to erect in good work the inlaid mystery which none can see and none can declare, for none know his form; and to prepare beautiful supports for the head, and frames to lie down, of silver, gold, blue stone, black metal, and all kinds of precious stones.

Henceforward the king is introduced himself speaking thus:—

I dedicated to him (all sorts of holy utensils), chaplets, incense-burners, dishes, for the sacrifices. Nothing was wanting, nothing remained that could be wished for. I also fitted the holy bath with acacia wood from the ridge of the plateau of the mountains. Its fore part and its hinder part was of pure copper. I dedicated to it a lake, so that the god might make his journey out to the festival of the land of Oo-pek. Also, I gave him . . . . . for the goddess (Dood), the mother of the great circle of the gods of Abydus.

These were each named as follows:—

Khnum, the lord of Herur, in Abydus.
Khnum, the lord of Elephantina, in Abydus.
Thut, the great master of Hermopolis Magna.
Hur, of Letopolis.
Hur, the avenger of his father.
Ap-Maten of the south.
Ap-Maten of the north.

The secret place, which contained their splendid forms, and the poles with which to carry them, were of pure copper, they were more beautifully worked than they had been formerly, finer than what will be made in heaven, more secret than the places of the depth, more difficult to see than what is in the ocean. All this I have had executed for my father Osiris, answering to the greatness of my love for him, more than for all the other gods, with the intention that my name should remain, and that my remembrance should live in the house of my father Osiris, the prince of the western land, the lord of Abydus, in all times and to eternity.

(I call upon) you, the holy fathers of this house, you priests and singers, you assistants and artists, as you are there, expend the

gifts of sacrifice, with the tables of sacrifice (in your hand, lay) them down on the tables of the altars. Preserve well my memorial, honour my name, and remember my kingly dignity. Strengthen my name in the mouths of your servants, and let my remembrance remain preserved with your children, because I, the king, am a benefactor to those who are on my side, a severe lord against those who only remember my name in their speech. What I have done in this land, that remains in your knowledge. It does not appear a fable in your sight, and no man can dispute it. I have carved art-memorials to the gods, I have embellished their shrines that they may last to posterity, I have kept up their temples, I have taken care for that which was erected in former times.

I teach the priests what is their duty; I turn away the ignorant man from his ignorance. I have done more service than all the other kings before me. The gods are full of delight at my time, and their temples celebrate feasts of joy. I have placed the boundaries of the land of Egypt at the horizon. I gave protection to those who were in trouble, and have punished the evildoers. I placed Egypt at the head of all nations, because its inhabitants join with me in the worship of Amon.

We have before our eyes in this document an important specimen of poetical creation, which exhibits to us the spirit and the mode of viewing things in those times. What there is besides of gain in this inscription as a contribution to the history of the king, the intelligent reader will himself easily perceive. We will only in passing remark, with reference to the conclusion, that it places the devotion of the king to the god Amon in the clearest light, while at a later period there was the persecution of this god, as we shall fully become acquainted with in the further progress of this history.

In the time of Thutmes III., and of his son Amenhotep II., a certain Neb-aioo exercised the high office

of high priest of the temple of Osiris, in Abydus. On a memorial stone the following passage of his life has been handed down to us. The stone itself was probably, by command of the king, raised in the tomb of the deceased.

1. a gracious expression of thanks of King Thutmes III., may he live for ever!

2. for the high priest of Osiris, Neb-aioo. Thus speaks he: Many kinds of work were made over to

3. the temple of Osiris, in silver, gold, blue stone, green stone, and other precious stones.

4. It all lay under my key and seal. He (the king) knew of my excellence in art.

5. It was his intention that I should offer the most precious things to my lord, as the keeper of the temple of his father.

6. I reached by that means high honour, and gained thereupon gracious royal reward. Then I was called

7. to his gold house. My place was in the midst, among his great court officials.

8. I had to make myself broad in the grand hall (of the king), and anointed myself with hair oil.

9. A garland rested on my neck, just as the king does for those whom he will reward. Again

10. there was to me gracious reward to my share through his son Amenhotep II. May he live long! He gave over to me the statue of his father the king

11. Thutmes III. May he live for ever! And his (own) statue of indestructible duration in the temple of Osiris. Added to that the possessions of the temple, consisting of

12. arable land and garden land, each marked out, and existing according to its position for (the service of) the portrait of the king

13. Amenhotep II., the friend of the Osiris of Abydus, the prince of the west.

Four lines further on he concludes with the words:

17. Call upon those who live there

18. on earth, on the priests and singers, on the assistants, and

the holy fathers of this temple, and on the artists of the temple, even as they are present.

19. Let each who approaches this stone read what is upon it, praise and bear love to Osiris, the king of Eternity.

20. In addition to this say, May the north wind be pleasant for the nose of the high priest of Osiris, Neb-Aioo the triumphant Osiris.

The stone documents on a building which were discovered in the temple of Tentyra by our friend and colleague, Professor Duemichen, are important contributions to the history of the building of this temple and bear witness to us that Thutmes III. likewise erected in a worthy manner the temple-dwelling to the holy goddess Hathor, a local form of the heavenly Isis-sothis, and regulated her service on feast-days. The following is the accurate translation of this document:—

King Thutmes III. has had this building erected in memory of his mother, the goddess Hathor, the lady of An (Tentyra), the eye of the sun, the heavenly queen of all the gods. There was found the great ground plan in the town of An, in ancient drawing on a roll of leather, of the time of the follower of Hor (that is the king); it was found in the interior of the brick wall of the south side of the temple in the reign of king Pepi.

In spite of the obscure brevity of these words, it appears to us to result with complete certainty, that first King Pepi, and after him Thutmes III., undertook, from having found this very ancient plan, to rebuild the ancient temple of the goddess. Already under the Ptolemies this second building had fallen into decay, and those princes re-erected the temple a third time from the ground. It is the same to which travellers in our day are accustomed to make their pilgrimages, full of anxious expectation.

Inscriptions which have been found on stones in the tombs of Aboosir and Saqqarah (the old common town of the dead for the generations of Memphis), leave us without any doubt that Thutmes III. had erected a temple to the god Ptah of Memphis, and dedicated priests and rich gifts to the holy service of the same.

Also the old town of the Sun, Anu-Heliopolis, which was situated near the present hamlet of Matarieh, was not forgotten by the king. He beautified and built[1] the ancient temple of the Sun, and on the authority of an ancient document on stone, he surrounded it with a stone wall, in the 47th year of his reign. By a curious accident the name of the architect has been preserved to us, who carried out the building of the temple of Thutmes in Heliopolis, in the honour of the Sun-god. He is styled the 'hereditary lord and first governor in Memphis, the true author of the arranging for the feast (for the temple); the architect in the town of the Sun, the chief superintendent of all the offices in Upper and Lower Egypt, the head architect of the king, the chief field-officer of the lord of the land, the steward of the king's palace of Thutmes III., Amen-men-ant;'[2] and he is, as we wish to add, the forefather of that Amen-men-ant who bore the weight of similar dignities under Ramses II.

[1] Already, in the year 1851, I copied the beautifully chiselled inscriptions of a gate in white limestone, with the name of this king, after repeated visits to the place itself.

[2] Compare Denkm. III. 29, e.

Among the obelisks which King Thutmes III. raised to the honour of the gods before the great wings of the temple, and with the description of which the inscriptions are occupied with so much care (according to a statement in the temple of Assaseef, the height of a double pair of obelisks was not less than 108 Egyptian ells, which equal 56-7 metres), the giant stone at Constantinople occupies a distinguished place. Splendid chiselled inscriptions cover the four sides of this huge granite block, of a rosy colour; they contain the names of the king, with sentences in praise of him, and among these the one most important historically contains the words: 'King Thutmes III. passed through the whole extent of the land of Naharain as a victorious warrior at the head of his army. He placed his boundary at the horn of the world, and at the lands of the further water of Naharain.' One of the obelisks which stood before the temple of Amon at Ape, was brought by the Romans to Rome, and placed there on what is now the public place, which takes its name from the Lateran; this is also ornamented with the name of the royal erecter of it, of whom the following is related in two particular places: 'The king has raised these immense obelisks to him (the god Amon) in the forecourt of the house of the god, on the ground-soil of Ape, as the first beginning of the erection of immense obelisks in Thebes (Oos).' The second text gives us a similar tradition in these words: 'The king has erected to him these immense obelisks at the upper (or also at the first) door of the temple of Ape, in the site of the town of Thebes (Oos).'

What the inscription remarks in his praise (although not entirely answering to the truth), that Thutmes III. first chiselled obelisks, and made a beginning with the one in Rome, in a lively manner reminds us of the assurance of the Roman, Plinius Secundus, according to which 'Mespheres, who reigned in the town of the Sun, first introduced this practice in consequence of a dream.' And this name Mespheres also meets us in the book of the kings, by Manetho, at the place which the monuments assigned with all certainty to the third Thutmes. I have shown above by examples, that many inscriptions of the peninsula of Sinai commemorate King Thutmes III., while the double representation of the year 16 in Sarbut-el-khadem, mentions the common reign of Queen Hashop and of her brother. Another rock inscription of the year 25 mentions the king as ruling alone; the last is intended to certify the presents of a distinguished Egyptian of the name Ki, belonging to the court of the king, and who betook himself to the valleys of Sinai, being commissioned by his master to bring to the king (at the head of his warriors) an immense quantity of green stone, from the land of the gods.

We will here bid farewell to the greatest king of Egyptian history; the victorious conqueror and ruler of a whole world, from the southernmost lands of inner Africa to the columns of heaven in the land of Naharain; to the founder of a multitude of new temples, to the upholder of the temples of his forefathers, to the celebrated benefactor of the servants of the gods,

to whom, during a long existence, it was granted by the divine ones to see perpetuated on their temple walls the deeds of his arm and the achievements of his genius. What wonder then that his contemporaries already worshipped him while alive as a divine being, and allotted to him after his death the honours of an inhabitant of heaven? His name was inscribed on thousands of little images, and small stone scarabæi, which were used for rings; he was considered as the luck-bringing god of the country, and a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and magicians.

Thus the memory of the king has lasted to our days; and it is not by accident that even the sons of Europe and America, whom a love of knowledge and curiosity, or the mild air of the Egyptian heaven, leads to the blessed shores of the Nile, of all the Pharaohs, first learn the name of Ra-men-kheper, which Thutmes III. bore in his cartouche.

We have now done our duty as a historian in bringing together everything worth knowing, which the monuments have preserved to us about this great king. We have on this subject with pleasure expressed our thanks, as the old Egyptian sages so frequently used to do in the inscriptions in their tombs, that the real life of men is the remembrance of them when dead, preserved in the mouth of posterity to all eternity. Thutmes III. still lives after a long rest in his grave, and will continue to live so long as in modern generations the love of the fore-time, the remembrance of the dead, and the high appreciation of their works continue to exist.

AA-KHEPRU-RA-AMENHOTEP II. 1565 B.C.

It is difficult and dangerous to be the son of a great father, for the good remains the enemy of the better, his own deeds vanish before the glory of the past, and the praise of men takes as the measure for the son the greatness of the father. Such was the case with Amenhotep II., the son of the great Thutmes, although he also, according to the information of the monuments, sought to render useful services to his country and his people. According to the narrative of the warrior Amenemhib, the brave contemporary of Thutmes III., and of his son, Amenhotep II., the last-named king already before his accession to the throne, on the 1st of Pharmuthi, in the 54th year of the reign of his father, had already distinguished himself in battles, which he had been obliged to undertake against the inhabitants of the red land. This last term designates mountainous desert valleys between the Nile and the Red Sea, inhabited by a Semitic race of Bedouins, who lived under chiefs of their own, and often troubled the Egyptians. He, at that time the heir-apparent of the throne, had succeeded in overcoming the foreign settlers, and in compelling their chiefs to obey the King of Egypt; for, as the inscription remarks, he was a man of remarkable power.

After the death of Thutmes III., there seems to have risen up a spirit of independence in Asia; the league of the towns again came into existence, and they sought by measures concerted in common to withdraw themselves

from Egyptian subjection. A memorial stone, now very much injured, on one of the southern wings of the temple of Amon, in Ape, contains a complete report of the campaign which Amenhotep II. undertook for the punishment of the rebels, as far as the distant Naharain.

It was the first campaign of the king which was directed against Upper Ruthen, and ended victoriously. Seven kings were taken prisoners in the town of Thakhis, and brought to Egypt; their further fate we shall soon learn more particularly.

The great historical inscription enables us to recognise, in spite of its lacunæ (I have for the last time, in the year 1875, examined and transcribed the pieces of it, which are becoming more indistinct), that the war against Asia this time was a war of vengeance in the fullest sense of the word. The individual towns were visited in succession, utterly plundered, and the booty written down. On the 26th of Pachons, one town, on 10th of Payni another town, on 20th of Payni a third town was taken, and so forth. As to what we can find out of the names of the towns, this is confined to the fortresses Arinath, Ni, Akerith, and to the mention of the kings of Naharain. The campaign extended pretty widely towards the north. The town of Ni, one of the most important of the land of Naharain, appears to have been surrendered to the Egyptians without any remarkable defence, since the Asiatic inhabitants of this town, both men and women, 'stood above on their walls to glorify the king.' Akerith had, on the contrary, proved obstinate, since it

'had formed the resolution of driving out the garrison of Pharaoh.' The booty which the king brought back to Egypt must have been unimportant. Among the prisoners, the king had taken eighteen persons, together with nineteen oxen, with his own hand; there were among others 640 Kinanoon, that is, merchants, who were carried away, together with their boys or servants.

In the Nubian temple of Amada, which the king had rebuilt and beautified, there is in the hinder chamber, and let into the wall, a large memorial tablet, the inscription on which is intended to recall to memory these victories and their importance, and to serve also as a warning to the inhabitants of the south. It is all the more important, as it very minutely informs us of the fate of the captive king of Western Asia.

I will give, as pertinent to the subject, a description of the upper part of the picture, in which the king is represented in his Nile ship, the name of which the inscription gives us, making an offering of wine to the god of the Nubian country, Hormakhoo, and to Amon-Ra.

The proper inscription begins with the date, the year 3, month Epiphi, day 15th, of the reign of Pharaoh, and his name. Then follow phrases in praise of the king, quite in the style of the time, until at last the holy characters are devoted to information of the greatest historical importance. We will now give the true translation of its contents, so far as our diligence can assure it, without passing by the documents of the

presentations of the building, which are closely connected with the historical part :—

At the time (in the year, on the day of the month which we have mentioned) the king beautified the temple (which had been executed by) his father, the King Thutmes III., in memory of all his forefathers and the gods. It was built of stone, as a lasting work, with a wall of protection round it of brick; the doors were of the best acacia wood, from the ridge of the Table Mountain, the gates of lasting stone, all done with the intention to perpetuate the great name of his father, the son of the Sun, Thutmes III., in this temple. Then the King Amenhotep II. carried out the festival of the laying of the foundation-stone to the honour of all his forefathers, when he dedicated it, a massive tower-gate of hard stone, before the protecting wall of this splendid dwelling of the god. A corridor, with columns of hard stone, as lasting work; many sacrificial vessels, and utensils of silver and iron, stands, altars, an iron kettle, fire-holders, dishes, and incense-burners (?). After that the king raised this memorial stone, and placed it in this temple, at the place where the statue of the king stands, and engraved upon it in writing the great name of King Amenhotep II. in the house of his forefathers and of the gods, after he had returned from the land of Upper Ruthen, where he had conquered all his opponents, to extend the boundaries of Egypt in his first campaign.

The king returned home full of gratitude in his heart towards his father Amon; he had with his own hand struck down seven kings with his battle-club, which were on the land of the territory of Thakhis. They lay there bound on the forepart of the royal ship, the name of which was, 'Ship of Amenhotep II., the upholder of the land;' six of these enemies were hung before on the walls of Thebes, their hands in the same way; then was brought up the river another enemy to Nubia, and was hung on the wall of the town of Napata, to make evident for all time the victories of the king among all the peoples of the land of the negroes, since he had taken possession of the nations of the south, and had bound the nations of the north as far as the ends of the whole extent of the earth on which the sun rises (and sets) without finding any opposition, according to the command of his father, the Sun-god Ra, the Theban Amon.

Thus has he done, the king Amenhotep II.; may there be to

him a stable, clear, and healthy life, and joy of heart to-day and for ever.

The statements of the memorial stone of Amada are confirmed in the most complete manner by representations and inscriptions which cover one of the southern propylæa of the great temple of Amon at Karnak, and which are dedicated to the name of Amenhotep II., as well as by pictures with their appended inscriptions in the sepulchral chambers of distinguished contemporaries of the king. In a tomb at Abd-el-Qurnah, among other pictures, is shown the king as a little child, on the lap of his deceased nurse. The heads and backs of five negroes and of four Asiatics serve as stools for his feet. In another representation the king is seated in the attire of a Pharaoh on his throne, the lower part of which is ornamented with the names of the nations and countries which were regarded at that time as subjects of the empire. The inscriptions name 'the land of the South, the inhabitants of the Oases, the land of the North, the Arabian Shasu, the Marmarides (Thuhen), the Nubian nomad tribes, the Asiatic husbandmen, Naharain, Phœnicia, the Cicilian coast, and Upper Ruthen, in short, neither more nor less than what Thutmes III. had already possessed, or had incorporated with the Egyptian empire.

The building and extension of the temples in Egypt and Nubia, where Napata formed the centre of the administration, were continued by Amenhotep II. as far as his means allowed. The temples of Amada and Kumme (opposite to Semne) bear witness to this. If

the newly added works within the precincts of the great temple at Ape may be taken as a measure of the importance of the respective governments, Amenhotep II. hardly kept up to the usual standard of his predecessors. The temple erected by him, a hall with two side naves (marked S on Mariette's Plan), is in no respects remarkable, either for the beauty of the building (its comparatively good preservation cannot of course be put to the king's credit), nor from the artistic perfection of the sculptures, nor from the importance of its inscriptions.

Among his contemporaries we would name in the first place his son Khamus, and the governor of the nations of the south, a certain Us-sati, as also the high priest of the goddess Nukheb at Eileithyiopolis, who as such bore the dignified title of a 'first king's son of Nukheb'; Amenhotep, with the surname Hapu, a son of Us-hat and of the chief priest Khamus, the son of the chief priest Amenhotep, the son of the chief priest Thutmes. Besides these, the chief priest of Amon 'of Thutmes III.' at Ape, named Ra, the son of the chief priest Aahmes, may deserve to be mentioned. The other contemporaries of the king, such as the two captains of the army, Amenemhib and Mah (see p. 356), and the rest, we leave to rest in peace in their silent tombs, whose sculptures frequently set before our eyes the rich reward which was given by the king to his generals and officials.[1]

[1] See *Denkmäler*, III. 63, a.

MEN-KHEPRU-RA, THUTMES IV., WITH THE ADDITIONAL NAME OF KHAKHAU, 1533 B.C.

On the memorial stone now in the British Museum, of a true servant and warrior of his lord, Thutmes IV., a certain Amenhotep relates that he 'accompanied the king on his campaigns against the people of the south and of the north, travelling from the river-land of Naharain, even to the (land of the negroes) Kari (or Kali) by the side of the king.' Besides this, the information is afforded to us that this Thutmes IV. trod in the footsteps of his predecessors, and sought to uphold the greatness and power of the empire by ceaseless struggles with his unruly peoples and subjects. The extreme limits of his campaign, Naharain in the north, Kali in the south, allow us to form an idea of the unusual activity of the king, from the vast extent of country in which it took place, embracing twenty-two degrees of longtitude. Unfortunately no document giving us information on the details of these campaigns, and on the participation of the king in the same, which doubtless took place, has survived the storms of time. A fragment in the temple of Amon in Ape, mentions 'The first campaign against the land of Kheta.' A rock inscription on the little Island of Konosso, among the boiling floods of the first cataract of the Nile, relates in the usual empty manner (the inscription itself bears as an introduction the date of of the year 7, the month Athyr, day 8), how the Libyan deities of Didoon and of He (the local god of the west lands) had given the wandering tribes, Amoo, and

all lands into the power of the king. Another inscription in the temple of Amada, gives also the general information of victories of the king in the land of Kush, and over the wandering tribes, and contains, as the only other remark of importance, the assurance that they had been so completely beaten that they were 'no longer (at that time) to be found.'

Thutmes IV. attributed his elevation to the throne to the powerful protection and assistance of the god Hormakhu, if the report of his catching hold of the divine hand was not merely a cover for the intrigues of the king, in order to reach his high aim.

The above-mentioned information is contained in the inscription of the great memorial stone, fourteen feet high, which is placed directly on the breast of the gigantic form of the sphinx of Gizeh, which cannot at present be seen by the visitors to the pyramids, since deep sand has covered the whole lower part of the body of the sphinx, and with it also this stone.

At the time when King Thutmes IV. ascended the throne, the place before the pyramids was an already abandoned burial-ground (it was called Ro-set in the inscriptions, which means 'door to the under world') where the king Osiris Sokar was invoked in prayer in his temple, quite close to the figure of the sphinx, by the pilgrims to this spot. At the foot of the hill on which the pyramids are raised the ancient 'holy road' went, and turning in an easterly direction, led to the western boundary of the Heliopolitan nome over the hill of Babylon, near the place which is now called old Cairo, opposite to Gizeh. The whole long road was considered

a magical country, and the Egyptians told many tales of apparitions and strange adventures which happened in this neighbourhood. Behind the sphinx and the pyramids the valleys of the desert begin, 'the land of the gazelle,' in which the sportsmen were accustomed to ply their foresters' trade, not without resting a short time under the shadow of the sphinx. The sphinx, itself an old work of King Khafra, as we have already related, represented the god Hormakhu, which means 'Horus in the horizon,' the Harmachis of the Greek writings. It was also called by the other names of Khepra ('being,' 'the sun of the midnight'), Ra (the sun in the east), Tum (the sun in the west). Hormakhu seems according to this, to have been the sun at midday.

After these introductory remarks we will consider the contents of the stone inscription, which we will proceed to lay before our readers, for the first time, in a correct translation.

The inscription begins; 'In the year 1, in the month Athyr, on the nineteenth day,' and here follow the names of the king, and sentences in honour of the new ruler who had just ascended the throne of Egypt. Then follows literally.

'Once he held a spear-throwing for his pleasure on the territory of the Memphitic nome, in a southerly and northern direction, and darted brazen bolts at the target, and hunted the lions in the valley of the gazelles. He went there in his chariot with two horses, and his horses were quicker than the wind; with him were two of his followers. No man knew them.

'It was the hour in which he granted rest to his servants. He took advantage of it to bring to Hormakhu, at the (temple of) Sokar in the city of the dead, and to the goddess Rannu, an offering of the seeds of the flowers on the heights (and to pray to the great mother Isis, the lady of) the north wall, and the lady of the south wall, and to Sokhet of Xoïs, and to Set. For a great magic has been in these places from the beginning of time, as far as the districts of the lords of Babylon, the holy road of the gods to the western horizon of On-Heliopolis, because the form of the sphinx is a representation of Khepra, the very great god who remains in these places, the greatest of all spirits, the venerable being which rests there. To him the inhabitants of Memphis and of all towns in its district raise their hands to pray before his countenance, and to offer him rich sacrifices.

'On one of these days it happened when the Prince Thutmes was come on his wandering about the time of mid-day, and had stretched himself to rest in the shade of the great god, that sleep overtook him.

'He dreamt in his slumber at the moment when the sun was in the zenith, and it seemed to him as though this great god spoke to him with his own mouth, just as a father speaks to his son, since he thus spake:

'"Behold me, look at me, thou, my son Thutmes. I am thy father Hormakhu, Khepra, Ra, Toom. The kingdom shall be given to thee . . . . and thou shalt wear the white crown and the red crown on the chair of the earth-god Seb, the youngest (among the gods). The earth shall be thine in its length and in its breadth as far as the light of the eye of the lord of Alls shines;

plenty and riches shall be thine; the best from the interior of the land, and rich tributes from all nations; long years shall be granted thee as thy term of life. My countenance is gracious towards thee, and my heart clings to thee; I will give thee the best of all things.

"'"The sand of the district in which I have my existence has covered me up. Promise me that thou wilt do what I in my heart wish; then will I acknowledge that thou art my son, that thou art my helper. Come on; let me be united to thee. I am . . . .",

'After this (Thutmes awoke, and he repeated all these speeches) and he recognised (the meaning) of the words of the god and laid them up in his heart, speaking thus with himself: "I see how the inhabitants of the temple of the city honour this god with sacrificial gifts (without thinking of freeing from sand the work of King) Khafra, the statue which was made to Toom-Hormakhu."' . . . . . .

Although the following lines of this inscription are entirely destroyed, yet it is not difficult to guess the conclusion of the narrative.

When Thutmes IV. came to the throne, he thought it incumbent on him, as a holy duty of gratitude, to keep the promise made to Hormakhu; he cleared away the sand and freed the whole gigantic body of the sphinx. After this had been done, in the very first days of his reign, the memorial stone of the nineteenth of Athyr in the first year of the reign of Thutmes IV. was at once erected on the spot. One cannot fail to be astonished that such a mighty stone as the great memorial tablet before the breast of the sphinx should

relate to a story really so simple. The dream of the king and the laying free the gigantic body of Hormakhu are apparently of such little importance, that it seems almost a pity to have incurred the cost and labour of erecting the memorial.

The only instructive information in the whole inscription, according to the right understanding of the text, appears to me to lie in the fact, that, in the fourteenth century B.C., the sphinx lay already as deeply imbedded in the sand as at this day in the nineteenth century after Christ. Lepsius and the Duc de Luynes were obliged to go to great expense, in time and labour, to remove the sand from the huge body. A short time afterwards the ever-rolling sand of the desert had again filled up the deep chasm that had been opened.

Thutmes IV. had certainly taken some precautions to keep off the streams of sand from the sphinx, the total length of which exceeds fifty-seven mètres.[1] It lay isolated, with its face turned towards the east, and hiding a temple between its extended fore feet, the hinder wall of which formed the great memorial-stone of the king. Thus it was still seen by visitors in Greek antiquity, to judge from the inscriptions which we find upon the spot. As in our days the Bedouins of the neighbouring village of Kafr guide the Franks to the wonders of the plateau of the pyramids of Gizeh, so here the inhabitants of the village of Busiris (in old Egyptian Pi-usiri, that is, the town of Osiris) which belonged to the Letopolitan nome, undertook the business of guides in ancient times.[2]

[1] The length is just 190 English feet.—ED.

[2] See the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 4699, and following numbers.

We will here take leave of King Thutmes IV., and turn to his son and successor, the very celebrated king

MA-NEB-RA AMENHOTEP III., 1500 B.C.,

the son of Queen Mut-em-ua, which means 'Mother in the boat.' We shall commit no error of judgment in placing the bearer of this name on a level with the great Thutmes, if we may draw a valid conclusion, as to the greatness and might of his kingdom, from the number and beauty of the monuments he has left behind him, and from the contents of contemporary stone documents which have not entirely disappeared from the soil of Egypt.

Among the stones which, imitating the form of a scarabæus, were used as amulets against evil magic and as memorials of the great king of the country, there are not a few which exhibit to us on the under side the name of this Pharaoh. Among these are some pieces of considerable size, covered with inscriptions, which show us the extent of the empire under Amenhotep III. On the north the river-land of Naharain, as on the south the land of the negroes, Kari or Kali, were its boundaries. Thus the ancient limits had been preserved, and Egypt energetically exercised her supremacy in the north and in the south. Amenhotep III. appears to have been an ardent sportsman, and to have been trained in the school of his father; at least the memorial scarabæi often inform us how he speared with his own hand, on his hunting expeditions in the land of Naharain, the great number

of 210 lions. Such a statement bears witness equally to the courage and the strength of the king.

Thutmes III. had, in repeated campaigns, confronted with the whole weight of his royal power the Canaanitish nations on the north of his great empire. Amenhotep III. chose as his battle-fields the hot countries of Ethiopia, and there he gained laurels such as scarcely any other king of Egyptian history could boast of.

A rock inscription of the fifth year of the reign of this Pharaoh, on the old road which led from Syene to the charming island of Philæ, affords us trustworthy evidence, that Amenhotep III. directed his first campaign against the inhabitants of the southern regions.

More than thirty-three centuries have passed over this tablet of victory, and have destroyed or half effaced some of the letters of the inscription; but the whole splendour of his victories shines forth clearly in the portions that have been preserved to us. The following is what we are especially interested to learn.

'In the fifth year the king returned home. He had triumphed in this year in his first campaign over the miserable land of Kush. He placed his boundary wherever it pleased him.' And then—

'The king ordered that the remembrance of his victories should be preserved on this memorial stone. No other king has done the like, except him, the brave Pharaoh, who trusts in his strength, namely, Amenhotep III.' Under the inscription there are written in the well-known turretted cartouches the names of six vanquished nations of the south; among them the land of Kush.

The campaigns of the king continued up the Nile, above the great cataracts of the royal river. Their aim was the subjugation and plunder of the tribes which were hostilely disposed. A memorial tablet, found in Semne, at the second cataract, relates a campaign with details which are not without importance for our knowledge of the land of Nubia in those remote times.

The king was in the land of Abeha, 'which begins at the frontier garrison of Beki, and which ends at the frontier garrison of Tari, a length of 52 miles.' The land of Abeha, which appears to me to be the often-mentioned Behan (the Greek Boôn, and the modern Semne), lay to the south and north of Semne, since Beki was evidently a point situated to the north.

Here follows the complete catalogue of the captured negroes, arranged according to their age and sex, as the Egyptians were accustomed to give them in their narratives, with a certain predilection for order and number.

'Catalogue of the prisoners whom the king captured in the land of Abeha :—

Living negroes	150 heads
Boys	110 „
Negresses	250 „
Old negroes	55 „
Their children	175 „
Total of living heads .	740
Number of hands (cut off) . .	312

The total number, together with the living heads, 1,052'

In these campaigns the kings remained true to the old custom of cutting off the hands of the slain foes, and of bringing them home as tokens of victory. In

no other way could the number of slain enemies be more manifestly proved to the Egyptians who stayed peaceably at home. I myself saw worse than this in Persia, in a war of the Shah-in-shah against the robber races of the Turkomans. The heads of the slain foes were cut off, salted, and sent, packed in cases, to the war minister, instead of a written report of the victory. This happened in the interior of Asia, in the year 1861, under the eyes of the European leader of the Persian Serbazes.

Amenhotep III. must have penetrated far into the Soodan, since the catalogues of his victories over the conquered negro races mention names which are not found again, at any rate as to the majority of them, in the official lists. On the footstool of the statue of the conqueror Amenhotep, in Paris, there appear clearly legible the following names :—

Ta-al-ta	Riu-the-the-ka
A-ki-ta	The Mai-ka
. . . ba-li	Ur-ki
A-ri-ka	The Mai-ua
Ma-qui-sa	The Za-kui
Sa-ha-ba	The Ri-ma-ka[1]
Sa-bi-ri	

In the temple of Soleb, far up in Nubia, new names appear of negro races and countries, some of which have a familiar sound. The following is the catalogue, so far as it is preserved :—

Thar-thar	Ma-tur
Tur-su	
A-Zanian	Sa-manir-ka

[1] The names which have 'The' before them are written in Egyptian with 'Pa,' the Egyptian masculine article.

Kari (the most southern land)
Maitha-riaa
Ka-tha . . .

Fu-ru-sha
Na-ri-ki-heb
Thar-ḥenika
Thar-sian
Mai
. . . man-'a-ri-bo
Akenes
Matha-Kalhu
Abeha-t (a district near Wady Halfa)
A-ki-na
Seri-nik
Au-ru-rik

The Su-an-qa
A-ihethap
Ather-maiu
Gurses.

It may be presumed that the wars against the gold-producing Kush, the Egyptian California of the sixteenth century before our era, opened new sources of wealth to the empire of the Pharaohs; and this will be actually proved from the stone documents. The 'king's sons of Kush,' who are already well known to us, executed their office as governors of the land of the south, and collected the tributes which were regularly levied every year. Under the reign of this sovereign we may name the following governors: Merimes, Hi, Amenhotep, and Thutmes. Their names are found on separate rocks in the Island of Bigeh, in the middle of the first cataract, in remembrance of the visit of these distinguished officials to the Temple of Osiris, on the Island of Philæ.

Among these lords, the Amenhotep mentioned above occupied a distinguished place, not only at the court, but also in the favour of Pharaoh. He was one of the wise men of his time, a prudent and experienced servant of his lord, to whom, during the long period of his reign, he performed faithful and important

services. The Pharaoh accordingly honoured him, and, from feelings of gratitude, dedicated to his memory a special statue, richly decorated with inscriptions full of his praise, which has now its place, as an important monument of the time, in the collections at Boulaq.

The wise Amenhotep, the son of Hapoo and of the lady A-too, is introduced as himself speaking in the words of this long inscription. He tells us about his own knowledge and excellence, his services to his contemporaries, and especially his influence with the Pharaoh, who placed him near his person as an intelligent and faithfully disposed servant, and raised him by the three gradations to the highest dignity. He recounts to us the course of his life as follows :—

'The king Amenhotep III., the eldest son of the god Hormakhu, rewarded me and appointed me as royal under-chief-secretary. I was introduced to the knowledge of the holy book, and beheld the glories of the god Thut. I was enlightened in all his mysteries, and all parts of them were laid before me. I was made master of the art of speaking, in all its bearings.

'And, as the second step, my lord the king Amenhotep III. rewarded me, and delivered over to me all the people, and they were placed under my inspection as the royal upper-chief-secretary of the young men. I arranged the families of my lord, and reckoned the number of the tributes by hundreds of thousands. I gave satisfaction to the people in their place of taxing, to the old man, as to the son who loves him.

'I laid the taxes on the houses according to their number. I separated the warriors and their houses. I increased the subjects by the best of the prisoners the king had made on the theatre of war. I gave due weight to all their privileges. . . . . .

'I placed warriors at the openings of the roads (of the country) to keep back the inhabitants of foreign lands in their places, for they were settled round about the two sides of (Egypt), and opened wide their eyes to make inroads upon the districts of the Nemausha (inhabitants of the desert).

'I did so, for example, at the lake of the Sethroitic mouth of the Nile. The same was closed by my war captains, chosen out to man the ship of the king. I was their leader, and they were obedient to my orders.

'I was a Ro-hir (guardian, that is, an epitropos of Greek times) at the head of the bravest warriors, to smite the nations of Nubia and Asia. The thoughts of my lord were continually my care. I penetrated what his mouth concealed, and executed his thoughts towards all natives and all foreigners who are about him. It was I also who brought the prisoners from the victories of the king. I was their overseer. I did according to that which he spoke, and took my measures according to that which he prescribed to me. I found that such was the best for the later time.

'And for the third time, my lord, the sun, Amenhotep III., the Prince of Thebes, rewarded me. He is the Sun-god himself. May there be accorded to him numerous returns of the thirty years' feast without end.

'My lord promoted me to be the chief architect. I immortalized the name of the king, and no one has done the like of me in my works, reckoning from early times. For him was created the sandstone hill; he is indeed the heir of the god Toom. I acted according to what seemed best in my estimation, inasmuch as I executed two portrait-statues of noble hard stone in this his great building. It equals heaven. No king has done the like, since the time of the reign of the Sun-god Ra, who possessed the land. Thus I executed these works of art, his statues—(they were astonishing for their breadth, and height in a perpendicular direction: their completed form made the propylon look small; 40 cubits was their measure)—in the splendid sand-stone mountain,[1] on its two sides, that of Ra and that of Toom (that is, the east and west sides).

'I caused to be built eight ships; they (the statues) were carried up (the river) and placed in their sublime building. They will last as long as heaven.

'I declare to you who shall come here after us, that of the people who were assembled for the building, every one was under me. They were full of ardour; their heart was moved with joy; they

[1] Perhaps the quarries of Silsilis are here meant, which in fact lie on the east and west sides of the river, and the inscriptions of which refer to these works.

raised a shout and praised the gracious god. Their landing in Thebes was a joyful event. The monuments were raised in their future place.'

We must not fail here to remark to our readers, that the statues of the king, of 40 cubits high (that is, 21 mètres, or nearly 70 English feet), mentioned in the inscription, are the two celebrated statues of Memnon, about which we shall speak presently. The measure assigned to them answers to the modern measurements,[1] and so does the description of their size, which must have made the tower-gateway (propylon) which stood behind them look small. Thus, thanks to a peculiar ordering of destiny, which has preserved to us his own statues, we now know the noble lord and master, who conceived the plan of this double gigantic work, the size and extent of which has excited the greatest astonishment and unqualified admiration of the ancients as well as the moderns. It was the head architect, Amenhotep, the son of Hapoo, who had the skill to create them in the sandstone quarries of Silsilis, besides building the temple.

Amenhotep III. was, like his grandfather Thutmes III., a zealous worshipper of the gods, especially of Amon, and he made use of the long period of

[1] According to actual measurement, the height of the sitting figures, from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet, is 14·28 mètres, not counting the destroyed head-dress. The footstool has a height of 4·25 mètres. The whole height of the statues, with the foundation, is 18·53 mètres. According to the above inscription, which gives the whole a height of 21 mètres, the head-dress must be reckoned at 2·47 mètres, which answers exactly to the height of a so-called pshent-crown.

his reign to execute in all places temples in honour of the divinities. In the very first years of his rule, new chambers were opened in the limestone hills of Mokattam, opposite the old imperial city of Memphis. In the neighbourhood of the village Toorah (the old Egyptian Ta-roo-fo, the Troja of the ancients) new rock chambers were opened in the first and second year of the king, and two inscriptions were set up to bring the fact to the remembrance of contemporaries and posterity.

'The king gave orders' (thus it runs) 'to open new chambers, in order to quarry the beautiful white stone of 'An, for the building of a lasting temple, after the king had learned that the rock chambers, which are situated in Ro-foo, had long since threatened to fall in.

'These were made anew by the king.'

The buildings in the national temple of the empire at Ape (Karnak) were not only carried on, but a new temple was also erected. Before the west front of the proper temple of Amon, so far as it had then been completed, Amenhotep III. raised an immense tower-gateway (propylon), erected a new temple of Amon to the north, and built another on the south to the divine mother Mut, near the holy temple-lake of Asher,[1] and united the whole quarter of the temples of Karnak with the new temple of Amon at Luxor by an avenue of sphinxes of couchant rams, with the sun's disk on their heads. The latter building also, the majestic ruins of which to this day command the admiration of travellers, is an old work of the times of King Amenhotep III.

[1] The sitting statues of Mut with lions' heads (as emblems of Sokhet), which have been found in the ruins, for the most part bear the name of the founder, Amenhotep III.

According to the numerous inscriptions which cover the flat walls over the stone lintels, this building, close to the river, was erected in honour of the god Amon, after the victorious campaigns against the negroes of Kush, when 'the king had mounted his horse to reach the extremest boundaries of the negroes, and had scattered the people of Kush, and had laid waste their country.' Pharaoh himself 'gave instructions, and the directions, for he understood how to direct and guide the architects.' And when he had finished this building, he could with justice declare about himself 'that he had executed great monuments in Ape of the south, wonderful works never seen before, and that he had increased and extended Ape of the south.'

On the further bank of the river, in a north-easterly direction from the temple of Thutmes III. in Medinet Abu, a new temple to the god Amon was raised by the king's command. Its site is indicated from a great distance by the gigantic sitting statues of the king, the fame of which the ancients spread over the whole world, under the name of the statues of Memnon. Although little more than the foundation walls of the temple itself are left, yet a memorial tablet, which now lies thrown down on its back, bears witness to the size and importance of the original building. In the inscription which adorns its surface, there is described a dialogue between the king and the god. First the king, Amenhotep III., speaks thus:

'Come then, Amon-Ra, lord of Thebes in Ape, behold thy dwelling, which is prepared for thee on the great place of Us (Thebes); thy glory resides in the western part (of the city). Thou passest through the heaven to unite thyself with her (the city), and

thou risest on the circle of heaven (in the east); then is she enlightened by the golden beams of thy countenance. Her front turns towards the east, etc.

'Thy glory dwells in her. I have not let her want for excellent works of lasting beautiful white stone. I have filled her with monuments in my (name), from the hill of the wonderful stones.' Those who show them in their place are full of great joy on account of their size.

'And likewise I built on the rocky soil a court of alabaster, rose granite, and black stone. Also a double tower-gateway (propylæa) did I execute, because I undertook to dedicate the most beautiful thing to my divine father. Statues of the gods are to be seen everywhere. They are carved in all their (parts?). A great statue was made of gold and all kinds of beautiful precious stones. I gave directions to execute what pleased thee well, to unite thee with thy beautiful dwelling.'

In this tone the king sings his own praises to the god, until the latter breaks in upon him at the conclusion with the assurance:

'I hear what thou sayest. I have beheld thy memorial, I thy father who have created thy glory, etc.

'Excellent is that which thou hast prepared for me; never has the like been done for me.'

The temple now in ruins was carried out according to the plan of the chief architect, the same who boasts of having designed the two gigantic statues of the king in front of it.

These rise, at the present day, like two solitary watchers with the heaps of ruins at their backs, on the cultivated Theban plain, reached every year by the water of the inundation, which often moistens their rigid feet.

The two statues—which represent King Amenhotep in a sitting position, having at their feet small sitting statues of his wife, Mut-em-ua, and of his mother Thi—

are carved each out of a single block of a firm red-brown sandstone, mixed with pieces of white quartz, and are in fact marvellous productions of treatment in the hardest and most brittle material. They stand at a distance of twenty-two feet from one another. The northern one is that which the Greeks and Romans celebrated in poetry and prose by the name of the vocal statue of Memnon. Its legs are covered with the inscriptions of Greek, Roman, Phœnician, and Egyptian travellers, written to assure the reader that they had really visited the place, or had heard the musical tones of Memnon at the rising of the sun.

In the year 27 B.C., in consequence of an earthquake, the whole of the upper part of the statue was removed from its place and thrown to the ground. From that time, the tourists of antiquity began to immortalize themselves by scratching their names, and adding befitting or unbefitting remarks. The assurances that they had heard Memnon sing, or rather ring (or tinkle), end under the reign of the Emperor Septimius Severus, who completed the wanting upper part of the body as well as he could with blocks of stone piled up and fastened together. It is a well-known fact, of which that immortal master of science, Alexander von Humboldt, personally assured me, that split or cracked rocks, or stone walls after cooling during the night, at the rising of the sun, as soon as the stone becomes warmed, emit a prolonged ringing (or tinkling) note. The sudden change from cold to heat creates quick currents of air, which press through the crevices of the rock, and emit a peculiar melancholy singing

tone. When, in the year 1851, I chose as my dwelling for some months the temple of Ape, to the west of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, I heard of a morning, after the sun had been some time up in the heaven, from a side chamber warmed by it, a melancholy note like that of the vocal Memnon. The fact was so well known to the Arabs who lived there, that they showed me this very chamber as that where the death-watch struck. After the statue of Memnon had been restored in the manner I have described, the sound naturally ceased of itself. The crack in the sandstone was covered by the masonry which was built up over it.[1]

The historical legend of the vocal Memnon is thus

[1] This explanation of the sounds issuing from the vocal Memnon was first put forth by Sir David Brewster in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 88, February 1831, in a review of Herschel's *Treatise on Sound*, before its suggestion by Letronne and Humboldt; and it is undoubtedly the correct explanation, notwithstanding Sir Gardner Wilkinson's discovery of a stone in the lap of the statue, which gives forth a ringing sound on being struck. Many such stones exist (witness the 'rock harmonium'), and the presence of this one may be a mere coincidence. A *possible* cause of a phenomenon is not therefore its actual cause. It is hard to see how the priests could have played the trick without detection by the many inquisitive travellers, and, if the stone had been placed there to be so used, the vocal Memnon would have been in full play during the whole period of its glory. The decisive argument is, that the sound is never recorded as being heard before the statue was broken, or after its repair. The present writer has heard notes sounding from a stone wall, heated by the early morning sun, and from earthen vessels containing boiling water; and in one recent instance (as a curious parallel to Brugsch's experience) exactly like the ticking of a watch. A full account of the vocal Memnon, and the attesting inscriptions, is given in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 276, April 1875, vol. cxxxviii, pp. 529, ff.—ED.

a very modern story, about which the old Egyptians knew nothing. The song of Memnon, however poetical it may have been in the fancy of antiquity, must be at once struck out of the history of Egypt. In its place the dry narrative of the Greek historian Pausanias resumes its full right, according to which the statue was that of a man of the country, by name Phamenoph, that is, 'Amenhotep.' We know now who this Amenhotep was,—a king of that name, who, in spite of himself, was made the Memnon of the Greek fable.

The architect Amenhotep, the son of Hapoo, who had the ability to execute so great a work, deserves so much the more the honour of having his name perpetuated, as he independently, and without any order from the king, conceived so grand a plan and carried it out successfully. It was not only necessary to loosen the stone from the rocks and work it, but also to entrust the vast weight to the Nile, and to convey it from the Theban river bank to its proper position. He was obliged, as he himself tells us, to build eight ships, in order to carry the burthen of these gigantic statues. Even in our highly cultivated age, with all its inventions and machines, which enable us by the help of steam to raise and transport the heaviest weights, the shipment and erection of the statues of Memnon remain to us an insoluble riddle. Verily Amenhotep, the son of Hapoo, must have been not only a wise, but a specially ingenious man of his time.

He came of an ancient and noble stock. His father, Hapoo, with the surname of Amenhotep, was a son of Khamus, a contemporary of the third Thutmes,

who belonged to the priestly family, of which we have spoken previously at page 413, the eldest sons of which bore the title of honour of 'king's sons.' His wisdom and his sayings were remembered even in the times of the Ptolemies, as we shall hereafter have occasion to prove.

Amenhotep the wise, with the surname of Hui, had himself founded a temple behind the sanctuary of his king, Amenhotep III., not far from the road to the tombs of the king's daughters and the royal ladies, nearly at the foot of the hill of the dead, in the caverns of which are the general graves of the ancient inhabitants of Thebes. The district bore the appellation of Kak, and hence the newly founded temple had the name of Ha-kak, 'the temple of Kak.' A remarkable memorial stone has preserved to us the following document concerning it[1]:—

'In the year XI., on the 6th day of the month Khoiahk, in the reign of king Amenhotep III.

'1) On this day the king was in the temple of Kak, (2) of the hereditary lord and royal secretary, Amenhotep. There were brought before him the governor of the town, Amenhotep, the treasurer, Meriptah, and the royal secretary of the assessment. These words were spoken to them in the presence (3) of the king: Good luck to you! You have received the orders which have been given for the administration of the temple of Kak, of the hereditary lord Amenhotep, called Hui, son of Hap, whose virtues are well-known; (4) that his temple of Kak should remain secure to his sons and daughters for all time, from son to son, from heir to heir, and that they should never take away the same, because it (the

[1] See my essay upon this in the *Ægyptische Zeitschrift*, 1875, p. 133.

temple) is founded by Amon-Ra, the king of the gods in his time on the earth. (5) Being king in eternity, it is he who protects the dead. Those chiefs of the assessment, and the secretaries of the assessment who come after me, will find that the temple of Kak is hastening to destruction, together with (6) the man-servants and maid-servants who are on the flower-knob of my staff,[1] and that people are taken from them; he shall give up the whole place to Pharaoh, together with the whole administration—his body will be satisfied. If he, however, (7) (permits) that they should be taken away, so that he does not fulfil their intention, he shall incur the judgment of the Theban god Amon, who will not allow that such should enjoy their places as royal secretaries of the assessment, which they have received through him (?); (8) but he will deliver them over to the fire of Satan in the day of his wrath, and his (i.e. the king's) serpent-diadem will spit out flames of fire on their head, annihilating their limbs; it will consume their bodies. They shall become like the snake of Hell Apophis on the morning of the new year; they shall be overwhelmed in the great flood. (9) He will hide their corpses, and they shall not receive the reward of righteousness; they shall not partake of the feasts of the blessed; the water from the spring of the river shall not refresh them, it will not come to pass that their posterity should sit in their place. Their wives shall be brought to shame (10) and their eyes shall see it; the great shall not enter their house, so long as they live on earth. They shall not enter nor be brought into the house of Pharaoh. They shall not hear the words of the king in the hour of his cheerfulness. (11) They shall be cut down . . . . . in the day of battle, and they shall be called the snaky brood. Their bodies shall languish away. They shall starve, wanting bread, and their bodies shall languish and die. The governor, the treasurer, the guardian of the temple, the steward of the corn, (12) the high priests, the holy fathers, and the priests of Amon, to whom these words shall be read over, which are composed with regard to the temple of Kak, of the hereditary lord and royal secretary Amenhotep, son of Hap, if they should not be protectors (13) of

[1] A Pharaonic mode of speech, which is as much as to say, 'As I lay my hand on the knob of my staff, so will I lay my hand for protection on the head of a particular person.' Comp. Gen. xlvii. 31, as quoted in Heb. xi. 21.

his temple of Kak; may these words find them out, them the first of all. But if they prove themselves protectors of the temple of Kak, including in this the manservants and maidservants that are on the flower-knob of my staff, all the best prosperity will happen to them. Amonra, the king of the gods, will reward them with a happy life. Your end (. . . . .) king of your land (15) like his end. Your claims to honour upon honour shall be doubled. You shall receive son after son, heir after heir, who shall be sent on employments, whom the king of (your) land will reward; your (. . . . .). Your bodies (16) shall rest in the under-world of Amenti, after a course of life of 110 years. The sacrificial gifts will be multiplied to you, (and so forth) . . . . . .

'(17) With regard to the chief people of the town watchmen, who belong to the nome, and (with regard) to the governor of the west country, namely, the quarter of the town called Kheft-hir-nib-s, who do not join my staff for that day, including my festival on every month, these words shall find them out, and they shall do penance for it (18) with their bodies. But if they hearken to all the words which are contained in this order, and if they obey (my) will, they shall not be deserted, they shall remain good and righteous, (19) they shall be buried in the graves of the dead full of years and old age. In explanation: with regard to the governor of the west country, he enters into the number of my own servants, from this day forth.'

The temple, whose maintenance was assured by royal command in a mode of which we have such full documentary evidence, fell into decay in the course of time. It was only restored under the Ptolemies, and was dedicated to Amon and Hathor as the tutelar deities; and the wise Amenhotep, surnamed Hui, the son of Hapoo, received in the representations and inscriptions his place of honour among the deities of the spot. What the wise god of learning, Imhotep (called Imoothes by the Greeks), the son of Ptah, was for Memphis, Amenhotep was henceforth for the Thebans down to the latest times. Der-El-Medineh (as the Arabs of our day

call the spot) was a place of pilgrimage for the mourning visitors to the Theban city of the dead.

We have already spoken of the temple on the Island of Elephantine, which Amenhotep III. finished and adorned; as also of the temple of Soleb, in which the king dedicated 'his own image on earth,' as a place of worship and adoration. A special shrine 'The temple-garrison of Kha-m-ma'a,' with a propylon and ram-sphinxes before it, and surrounded by walls and battlements, was founded by the king, far up in the south, at the foot of Mount Barkal. We pass over a number of various remains, which prove the architectural activity of Amenhotep in other parts of Egypt, as, for example, in El-Kab and Nubia; and we need only say, that all these remains bear witness to the perfection of the artistic execution which both architects and sculptors at the court of the king exhibited in their works.

In the time of the same king plenty and riches must have been the lot of the Pharaoh, for he lavished gifts upon the temples, the priests, and his court officials and subjects, in a royal manner. Amon especially, the god of the empire, had no cause to complain of the niggard hand of his beloved son. A record of his gifts at Karnak, of which unfortunately only the ruins exist, exhibited to the eyes of the whole world the generosity of the king.[1] It teaches us the way in which he bestowed the taxes and tributes of foreign kings for the benefit of the temple: 4,820 lbs. of blue stone, 3,623 lbs. of khenti, innumerable masses

[1] The document is published in Mariette's *Karnak*, Table 34.

of gold, silver, and copper, and even a great number of wild lions,—appear as his gifts to the temple, without reckoning the increased sacrifices and distributions.

The thirtieth year of his reign, the festive completion of the first thirty years' jubilee, seems to have been particularly propitious for the country. The representations and inscriptions in the sepulchral chambers of the noble hereditary lord Khamhat, who held the office of vizier under Amenhotep III., furnish us with a lively picture of this period of his life.

The king sits throned in his chair. 'Pharaoh appears on his exalted throne, to receive the catalogue of tributes from the south and north.' His faithful servant Khamhat, in a position betokening his respect, reads over to the king the numbers in order, as follows :—

'The reading over of the catalogues of the tributes of the thirtieth year before the king, according to the taxing of the full Nile in the festival of the thirtieth year. The king (receives the tributes) from the overseers of the houses of Pharaoh, together with the (taxes of the hostile nations), from the south and from the north, and from this miserable land of Kush, as far as the region of the river-land Naharain.'

But the king does not only receive, he also gives. This reverse of the picture shows us, with the same liveliness of conception and execution, a crowd of people assembled before Pharaoh. The king sits upon his throne ; by his side, bowing down reverently, stands Khamhat. The people greet and welcome the king, some lying prostrate, others bowing before him

and stretching out their hands to him in the attitude of prayer. To the faithful subjects, who have punctually paid their taxes in the holy thirtieth year, the customary necklaces are presented by the courtiers of the king, instead of our decorations of coloured riband. There is great joy in the house of Kemi. The picture thus described is explained no less clearly by the inscription, which runs as follows:—'These are the rewards which are given to the overseers of the houses of Pharaoh and the tax-payers of Upper and Lower Egypt, because, when the overseer of the granaries (of course belonging to Pharaoh) had spoken but a word with them, they gave more than the amount of their taxes for the thirtieth year.'

With this agreeable picture of tax-payers giving of their own free will—a good example to our overburthened state in the present times—the picture concludes. Each goes away contented to his home, and says what the words above the enthroned Pharaoh express:—'The king has shown himself upon his throne. The tax-payers of the south and north of Egypt have been rewarded.'

We might relate much more concerning the Pharaoh Amenhotep III. and his contemporaries, for the monuments of his time are eloquent, and divulge much. Even the old potsherds open their long-closed mouth, to disclose to us many things of a troublous nature, with an historical background. In proof of this, here is a statement written with a dark brush on the two sides of an old potsherd: 'Let there be a report made of all thefts which the workpeople of Nekhuemmut

have committed. They smuggled themselves into the house; they stole the . . . and spilt the oil; they opened the corn-chest which contained spelt, and stole the lead on the mouth of the fountain. They went into the bake-house (?) and stole the provision of stale bread, and spilt the lamp-oil, on the 13th day of the month Epiphi, on the coronation-day of King Amenhotep.'

As if such a theft had not been enough, the back of the potsherd continues, in the same tone:—

'They went into the provision-room and stole three long loaves; eight ornaments . . . . . they drew (or rather, they sucked) the beer from the skin which lay on the water, while I was in the house of my father. Will my lord allow that (justice may) be done me?'

And all this happened on the coronation-day of Pharaoh, which otherwise, without this little potsherd, would probably have remained a date for ever unknown to us.

Amenhotep III. must have reigned more than thirty-five years. At least, the two rock inscriptions at Sarbut-el-khadem, in the peninsula of Sinai, bear witness to the fact, that in the month Mekhir of the thirty-sixth year of his reign a courtier fulfilled a commission of the king, in connection with the obtaining of the 'green stone' called mafka. This was not done without his inscribing on the wall of rock the usual expressions of veneration, in the name of the Pharaoh, to the local deities Supt and Hathor. On the 1st of Pachons of the previous year, 35, there is an inscription of a stone-mason in the sandstone quarries of Silsilis.

A peculiar fate seems to have presided over this king's nuptial relations. He did not seek his queen from among the fair princesses and heiresses of his house, but, following a strong inclination of his heart and a singular direction of his taste, he chose for his future wife a damsel not of royal race, the daughter of a certain Juao and his wife Thuao. This was the Queen Thi, who appears so frequently on the monuments of the time beside the portraits of the king, the darling wife of the Pharaoh, to whom he was attached with a tender affection during all his life. Of what race she was, is a puzzling question, to which we cannot find a clue from the rhyming names of her parents, whose home must have been far from the land of Egypt. Did they belong to a Semitic nation? Had Amenhotep III., the Egyptian Nimrod, become acquainted with and married the young maiden on one of his hunting or warlike expeditions in the south? Who can now say, as the monuments persistently refuse all information on the subject? Yet on the answering of this question depends the solution of a riddle, which comprehends the following reign within its compass.

Amenhotep III. left behind him several children, some of whose names are preserved by the monuments. We give the following, as determined by Lepsius:—his sons Amenhotep and Thutmes, and his daughters, Isis, Hont-mi-hib, and Satamon: the last-named was the wife of one of the following kings.

When his royal father died, the throne was ascended by

AMENHOTEP IV., 1466 B.C.,

'the long-lived prince of Thebes,' or, according to the new names he afterwards adopted,

NOFER-KHEPER-RA UA-EN-RA KHU-N-ATEN.

The descent of this king, the son of Thi, from a house which was neither royal nor Egyptian, precluded him, according to the existing prescriptions regarding the succession, from any lawful claim to the throne. His deceased father had, by his misalliance, passed over the hereditary princesses of the royal race; and the son of the unfortunate marriage had to do penance for his father's fault. In the eyes of the priestly corporation of the imperial temple at Thebes, who jealously watched over the letter of the law on the succession to the throne, the young king was an unlawful ruler, whose buildings in honour of the great Amon of Thebes could not mollify the excited feelings of the holy fathers and their dependants. To increase the existing difficulties, a circumstance occurred, which was alone sufficient to cause the excommunication of the new ruler. This was the aversion of Amenhotep IV., which is testified by the monuments, to the worship of the greatly-venerated god of the empire, Amon, and of his fellow-gods, as it had been faithfully handed down to the heir of the throne from age to age, by law and teaching and education. In the house of his mother Thi, the daughter of the foreigner, beloved by his father, hated by the priests, the young prince had willingly received the teaching about the one God of Light; and what the mouth of his mother had impressed

upon his childish mind in tender youth became a firm faith when he arrived at man's estate. The king was so little prepared to renounce the new doctrine, that he designated himself within the royal cartouche itself as 'a high priest of Hormakhu' and 'a friend of the sun's disk,' Mi-aten. Such a heresy in the orthodox city of Amon, full of temples, was at once deemed an unheard-of thing; and open hate soon took the place of the aversion which had existed from the first. To the great misfortune of the king himself, his outward appearance betrayed, in a very unpleasing manner, his descent from his foreign mother. The soft womanish traits of his countenance, with a strongly advancing chin, the long narrow neck, the thin legs which supported his body, involuntarily reminded men of the foreign peculiarities which Nature had stamped upon him, and which to this day in Egypt, especially in the case of the Galla negroes, above all if they are eunuchs, constitute the most marked features of the black race. Thus angry blood sprang up on both sides. To fill up the measure of hatred against the caste of the priests of Amon, and to give it public expression, the king issued a command to obliterate the names of Amon and of his wife Mut from the monuments of his royal ancestors. Hammer and chisel were put in active requisition on the engraved stones, and the scribes of the royal court sought with care the places, even to the very names of his forefathers, in which the word Amon met the reader's eye.

The discontent of the priests and the people had reached its highest point, and open rebellion broke out

against the heretic king, who, ashamed of his honourable baptismal name of Amenhotep, had assumed the new name Khunaten, that is 'splendour of the sun's disk,' by which we must henceforward designate him.

The king, under the conviction that he could not any longer remain in the city of Amon, determined to turn his back on the cradle of his ancestors, and to found a new capital, which he called Khu-aten, far from Memphis and Thebes, at a place in middle Egypt, which at this day bears the name of Tell-el-Amarna.

Artists, overseers, and workmen, were summoned with hot haste. According to the plans of the king, a splendid temple was erected in hard stone, in honour of the sun-god Aten, composed of many buildings, and with open courts, in which fire-altars were set up. The plan of the great building was new, with little of the Egyptian character, and arranged in a peculiar manner. But such was the pleasure of the king, and the architect was obedient, and bowed himself to the will of his all-powerful lord. The dwelling also of the king and of the queen Nofer-it Thi, and the abodes for her children—a garland of seven young princesses, Mi-aten, Mak-aten, Ankh-nes-aten, Nofru-aten, Tashera, Nofru-ra, Sotep-en-ra, and Bek-aten—and of his sister-in-law, Notem-Mut, were executed in great splendour near the temple of the sun, and suitable buildings were added to those already mentioned for the use of the court and its servants.

The town was richly adorned with monuments, traces of which, in spite of their later wholesale destruction, are clearly to be perceived in the heaps of *débris*. The

most important works of art were made of granite, which the king obtained from the quarries of Syene at the 'Red Mountain,' and which were brought down the Nile to the place now called Tell-el-Amarna. His architect was an Egyptian named Bek, a son of 'the overseer of the sculptors from life, Men, and of the lady Ri-n-an.' Men, a son of Hor-amoo, had already served in his office under king Amenhotep III., as 'overseer of the sculptors from life[1] in the red mountain, and as 'overseer of the sculptors from life for the grand monuments of the king.'

The works of the grandson Bek for the new city of the Sun are most clearly proved by the following inscription, in which Bek bears the title of 'overseer of the works at the red mountain, an artist and teacher of the king himself, an overseer of the sculptors from life at the grand monuments of the king for the temple of the sun's disk in the town of Khu-aten.'[2]

We have thus gained knowledge of a new family of artists, which we make known to posterity in thankful remembrance for their works, true to the prayer of the monuments, to preserve the works of those times for the remembrance of the latest generations. The tomb-stone of the artist Bek was put up for sale some years ago in the open market-place at Cairo. My respected

[1] The Egyptian word for this, s'ankh, means literally 'the vivifier,' 'the giver of life.' In the tombs of Tell-el-Amarna the same word stands near two sculptors, who are chiselling an arm and a head in stone. See *Denkmäler*, III. 100. a.

[2] I am indebted for a knowledge of this inscription to M. Mariette-Bey, who discovered it on a rock near the town of Assooan (Syene).

friend, Mr. L. Vassalli, bought it, and was good enough to give me an exact drawing of the carving upon it and a paper impression of the inscription.

The stone is half a mètre, or about 18½ inches high. Two little standing images of a man and a woman are seen inside a niche. The inscription upon it, on the right hand, runs: 'A royal sacrifice to Hormakhu, the sun's disk, who enlightens the world; that he may vouchsafe to accept the customary offerings of the dead on the altar of the living sun's disk, in favour of the overseer of the sculptors from life, and of his wife, the lady Ta-hir':—on the left: 'A royal offering to the living sun's disk, which enlightens the world by its benefactions, in order that it may vouchsafe a perfectly complete good life, united with the reward of honour, joy of heart, and a beautiful old age, in favour of the artist of the king, the sculptor of the lord of the land, the follower of the divine benefactor, Bek.' Underneath, as a continuation of the words 'that he may vouchsafe,' there is added:

'The inhaling of the holy incense, the receiving of the unction in favour of the artist of the king, the overseer of the sculptors, Bek; the inhaling of the fragrance of the incense in favour of the overseer of the works of the land, Bek:

'That "thy soul may appear, that thy body may live, that thy foot may march out to all places," in favour of the artist of the king and overseer of the sculptors, Bek:

'That "he may grant me to drink wine and milk," and that "the king may receive the sacrifice of the dead" in favour of the lady Ta-hir.'

The phrases which are put within double marks (" ") are the commencement of very ancient prayers for the dead, which were frequently used in the offer-

ings of the dead, and were also quoted as titles at the commencement of similar inscriptions.

The genealogical tree of this family of artists comes out as follows :—

Hor-amoo
|
Men=Rinan (under Amenhotep III.)
|
Bek=Tahir (under Amenhotep IV.)

Another master, who did not hold such a high office as Bek, has not been passed over, as the promoter of his art, in the rich pictorial decorations of the tombs at Tell-el-Amarna. He there exhibits himself, in one picture especially, in full activity ; for he is represented as giving the last strokes of the chisel to a standing figure of the princess Bek-en-aten, which is just finished. This is 'the overseer of the sculptors of the queen, named Putha.' Under his supervision two artists are chiselling, the one a head, the other an arm, from life. And, in fact, if we are to believe the representations we have mentioned in the tombs behind Tell-el-Amarna, the temple of the Sun was nearly covered with the pictures of the king, his wife, and his daughters. The sculptors had to labour hard, and each had full liberty left him for the execution of his work.

Near the stone quarry of Assooan, which furnished the artist with rose and black granite, lay the cliffs of Silsilis, on each side of the river, from which the hard brown sandstone was obtained for the works of architecture and sculpture, under the rule of Khun-aten. An inscribed stone, which is in many ways remarkable, has confirmed this to us with certainty.

After the names and titles of the king we read on it, word for word, as follows :—

'And for the first time the king gave the command to . . . . to call together all the masons, from the Island of Elephantine to the town of Samud (a special name for Migdol in Lower Egypt) and the chiefs and the leaders of the people, to open a great quarry of the hard stone for the erection of the great obelisk of Hormakhu, by his name as the god of light, who is (worshipped) as the sun's disk in Thebes. Thither came the great and noble lords and the chiefs of the fan-bearers, to superintend the cutting and shipping of the stone.'

In this ambiguous inscription, as I might almost call it, the singular fact is revealed to us, that Khun-aten, while still named Amenhotep IV., had formed the intention of erecting even in Thebes a splendid building, in the form of a gigantic pyramid, of the sandstone of Silsilis, in honour of his god of light, Hormakhu. The whole country was summoned for this severe labour, and the noblest lords, even those enjoying the high official rank of fanbearers, were obliged to undertake the very subordinate part of simple overseers for the cutting and the shipping of the stone.

Khun-aten had certainly devised this humiliation for the Theban lords with all forethought and of set purpose. But assuredly the king never thought that his purpose would one day obtain such an ambiguous immortality. The whole inscription involves a very bitter tendency to influence the opinion of posterity against Khun-aten.

In the meantime the new city was finished building. In the midst stood the great Temple of the Sun. It lay not far from the Nile, on the eastern side of the

river, in a great plain which is very like the Theban plain on the west side of the river. In the background, towards the east, there rises a steep chain of hills lying north and south, like an encompassing wall, with two spurs in front of the city, reaching almost to the shore of the Nile, and leaving only narrow outlets towards the east, right and left of the eastern chain of hills.

The high dignity of Chief Prophet in the Temple of the sun-god was bestowed upon a faithful servant of the king, named Meri-ra, which means 'dear to the Sun.' He bore the title of honour of 'chief seer of the disk of the Sun in the temple of the Sun of the city of Khu-aten.' In the presence of the king he was solemnly invested with his high dignity. Pharaoh spoke to him on this occasion the following words:

'Here am I present to promote thee to be chief seer of the disk of the Sun, in the temple of the Sun of the city of Khu-aten. Be thou such, according to thy wish, for thou wast my servant, who wast obedient to the (new) teaching; besides thee, none has done this. My heart is full of contentment because of this; therefore, I give thee this office, saying, Eat of the nourishment of Pharaoh thy lord in the temple of the Sun.'

Another surprise was in reserve for the high priest. The king called his treasurer before him, and spake to him thus:—

'Thou treasurer of the chamber of silver and gold! Reward the chief seer of the disk of the Sun in the city of Khu-aten. Place a golden necklace round his neck and join it behind; place gold at his feet, for he was obedient to the (new) teaching of Pharaoh in everything that has been spoken in relation to the beautiful places, which Pharaoh caused to be erected in the chamber of the

obelisk in the temple of the Sun, of the disk of the Sun in the city of Khu-aten. The altar of the disk of the Sun is filled with all good things, with much corn and spelt.'

As the chief official who was set over the king's house, there lived at the court of Pharaoh a certain Aahmes; who also had the superintendence of the provision-houses of the temple. Next to Meri-ra, he was one of the most zealous adherents of the new teaching. His prayer to the Sun, which is preserved to us among the sepulchral inscriptions at Tell-el-Amarna, will confirm this:—

'Beautiful is thy setting, thou Sun's disk of life, thou lord of lords, and king of the worlds. When thou unitest thyself with the heaven at thy setting, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honour to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the glance of thy son, who loves thee, the King Khunaten. The whole land of Egypt and all peoples repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising in like manner as thy setting. Thou, O God, who in truth art the living one, standest before the two eyes. Thou art he which createst what never was, which formest everything, which art in all things; we also have come into being through the word of thy mouth.

'Give me favour before the king for ever; let there not be wanting to me a peaceful burial after attaining old age in the land of Khu-aten, when I shall have finished my course of life in a good state.

'I am a servant of the divine benefactor, (that is of the king), I accompany him to all places where he loves to dwell. I am his companion at his feet. For he raised me to greatness when I was yet a child, till [the day of my] honour in good fortune. The servant of the prince rejoices, and is in a festive disposition every day.'

In these and similar creations of a poetic form there reigns such a depth of view, and so devout a conception of God, that we are almost inclined to give our

complete assent to the teaching, about which the king is wont to speak so fully and with so much pleasure.

His royal spouse also, Nofer-i-Thi, was deeply penetrated with the exalted doctrines of the new faith, which to contemporaries appeared in the light of an open heresy against the mysterious traditions on the being of the godhead in the rolls of the holy books of the other temples of the land. Thus does the queen address the rising sun :—

'Thou disk of the Sun, thou living god! there is none other beside thee! Thou givest health to the eyes through thy beams, Creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of the heaven, to dispense life to all which thou hast created; to man, four-footed beasts, birds, and all manner of creeping things on the earth, where they live. Thus they behold thee, and they go to sleep when thou settest.

'Grant to thy son, who loves thee, life in truth, to the Lord of the land, that he may live united with thee in eternity.

'Behold his wife, the Queen Nofer-i-Thi. May she live for evermore and eternally by his side, well-pleasing to thee: she admires what thou hast created day by day.

'He (the king) rejoices at the sight of thy benefits. Grant him a long existence as king of the land.'

The mother also of the king, the widowed spouse of the deceased Pharaoh Amenhotep III., honoured the city and the temple of the Sun by a visit. Was she the special originator of the new teaching, which had so completely taken possession of the king, that he did not hesitate to throw down the gauntlet to the proud priestly caste, and even to quit Thebes, in order to found on the plains of Amarna a new seat for his contemplative existence, far from the bustle of the restless capital?

The widowed queen arrived at Khu-aten with a great retinue. The king, in company with his wife, himself conducted her into the new temple. The inscription explains the picture that remains to us of this scene in the following terms:—'Introduction of the queen-mother Thi to behold her sun-shadow.'

According to the wall-pictures in the two sepulchral chambers in the hills behind the town, the Pharaoh Khunaten enjoyed a very happy family life. Surrounded by his daughters and wife, who often, from a high balcony, threw down all kinds of presents to the crowd which stood below, the mother holding on her lap the little Ankh-nes-aten,—he reached a state of the highest enjoyment, and found in the love of his family, and the devout adoration of his god, indemnification for the loss of the attachment of the 'holy fathers' and of a great part of the people. The widowed queen-mother Thi also shared this family happiness, and thus we find her sitting in peaceful intercourse with her son and his wife, in the hall of the royal palace. The court used to accompany them, and especially the steward, the treasurer, and the chief of the women's apartments, Hia.

King Khunaten gave remarkable expression to his love for his relations by three rock pictures, with inscriptions all to the same effect, which remain on the steep face of the rock near the city of Khu-aten, but are barely within reach of the eye. The king and queen are seen in the upper compartment, raising their hands in an attitude of prayer to the god of light, whose disk rises over their heads in the

full splendour of his beams, each ray of the sun terminating in a hand dispensing life. Two daughters, Meri-aten and Mak-aten, accompany their royal parents. The date of the 6th year, in the month Pharmuthi, the 13th day, gives to the whole a fixed historical epoch.

Underneath are the following words—omitting the long titles of honour of the king and queen :—

'On this day was the king in Khu-aten, in a tent of byssus. And the king—life, prosperity, and health to him!—changed Khu-aten, which was its name, into Pa-aten-haru (that is, the city of the delight of the disk of the Sun.) And the king appeared riding on the golden court-chariot, like the disk of the Sun, when it rises and sheds over the land its pleasant gifts, and he directed his course where the beautiful road has its beginning.

'This was the first occasion since the time when the king had devised the plan of founding it as a memorial to the disk of the Sun, as the sun-god king had signified to him, who dispenses life eternally and for ever, to found a memorial within it.

'On that day was offered a proper and complete sacrifice in the (temple of the sun) of Khu-aten, the sun's disk of the living god, who received the thanks of the love of his royal image, (or counterpart) the Pharaoh Khunaten. Thereupon the king went up the river, and mounted his chariot before his father, the sun-god king, towards the mountain to the south-east of the city of Khu-aten.

'The beams of the sun's disk shone over him with a pure light, so as to make young his body daily.

'Thereupon King Khunaten swore an oath to his father thus: Sweet love fills my heart for the queen, for her young children. Grant a great age to the Queen Nofri-Thi in long years; may she keep the hand of Pharaoh. Grant a great age to the royal daughter Meri-aten, and to the royal daughter Mak-aten, and to their children; may they keep the hand of the queen, their mother, eternally and for ever.

'What I swear is a true avowal of that which my heart says to me. Never is there falsehood in what I say.

'With regard to the memorial tablet to the south (of the) four (memorial tablets) on the east of the city of Khu-aten, let

this be the memorial tablet which I will have set up in the place which I have chosen for it in the south, for ever and eternally.

'This memorial tablet shall he set up in the south-west, towards the midst, on the mountain of Khu-aten, in the midst of it.

'With regard to the memorial tablet in the middle, on the mountain to the east of the city of Khu-aten, let this be the memorial tablet for Khu-aten. This I will have set up in its place (which I have appointed for it in sight of) the city of Khu-aten, at the place which I have appointed for it in the east, for ever and eternally.

'This memorial tablet in the midst, on the mountain to the east of the city of Khu-aten, let it be in the midst of it.

'With regard to the memorial tablet to the north-east of Khu-aten, I will have it set up in its place. Let that be the memorial tablet to the north of Khu-aten. Let this be the place which I have appointed for it.

'(In such wise shall the memorial tablets be set up, according to their directions) towards Khu-aten. From the memorial tablet in the south to the memorial tablet in the north (there is a distance of) 1,000 (. . . . .)'

The following lines are so much destroyed, that little more can be made out of them beyond the fact, that the king had also set up a similar memorial tablet to the west of Khu-aten, on the opposite bank of the river.

There is some difficulty about the conclusion, since a postscript, engraved not quite two years afterwards, relates on the tablets what follows :—

'These memorial tablets, which were placed in the midst, had fallen down. I will have them raised up afresh, and have them placed again in the situation in which they were (previously) : this I swear to do. In the 8th year, in the month Tybi, on the 9th day, the king was in Khu-aten, and Pharaoh mounted on his court-chariot of polished copper, to behold the memorial tablets of the disk of the sun, which are on the hills in the territory to the south-east of Khu-aten.'

The memorial stones, about which the king speaks as the avowal of his affection for his wife and daughter,

still in fact remain to this day as three rock tablets bearing the same inscription; and they were first found and published by the French archæologist, Prisse d'Avennes.[1] Two of them stand in a valley covered with blocks of stone and *débris*, in a south-easterly direction from Amarna, towards Haggi Qandil, high up on the wall of rock, at a height of 9 yards. The third rock tablet, on the other hand, is on the opposite side of the river. At Gebel Tooneh, on the smooth face of the Lybian mountain, the same picture and the same inscription as at the before-named places exhibit themselves to the view of the traveller.

In his eighth year, according to the information at the conclusion of the long inscription, the king visited the solitary mountain district afresh, to convince himself that his orders had been obeyed. The memorial tablets had, soon after their erection, 'tumbled down' from their position; that is, had been destroyed purposely by hostile-minded Egyptians, so that the king found himself obliged to order their re-erection.

He went thither on his chariot, as was his custom. The sepulchral chambers of Tell-el-Amarna, which received in them the deceased generations of the strange court of the heretical king (seldom visited by travellers, since they lie inland and far from the Nile), exhibit to us in their pictures, repeated several times, the king making his journey on his chariot in the clear sunshine, accompanied by his daughters, who likewise, according to the fashion of the times, use two-horsed and two-wheeled chariots.

[1] See his *Monuments*, Plates xiii. and foll.

In the twelfth year of his reign, precisely on the eighteenth day of the month Mekhir, King Khunaten celebrated the victories of his army over the Syrians and Kushites. He could hardly have taken a personal part in these, but his appearance at the festival of victory was all the more brilliant. In the full Pharaonic attire, adorned with the insignia of his rank, he appears on his lion-throne, carried on the shoulders of his warriors. At his side walk servants, who with their long fans wave the cool air upon their heated lord.

We know nothing more precise either as to the direction or the duration of the campaigns, thus generally described, in the north and in the south. Only the pictures and inscriptions of the king on the side gateways of the Temple of Amon at Soleb lead us to suppose that the warriors of Khunaten must have gone that way on their campaign against the south. There is also a remarkable memorial in the Egyptian collection at Leyden, on which Horemhib (who was afterwards king), in his character as the first official of the court, causes the prisoners of all nations to be brought before his lord by the servants of the king. Stupid Negroes, sly Syrians, and small-featured Marmarides (whose women lead horses by the bridles as presents), form the chief members of the varied, cringing, submissive assemblage of foreigners before the king's throne.

The king, as we have seen, died without male issue. Of his daughters, he had married the eldest to a certain Sa'anekht; the third, Ankh-nes-pa-aten, or, as she called herself later in honour of Amon, Ankh-nes-Amon, was married to the noble lord Tut'ankh-

Amon; while the sister of the queen Nofer-i-Thi, whose name was Notem-mut, became the spouse of the later king, Horemhib.

In the sequel, the husbands of all the princesses of the house of Khunaten attained to the dignity of kings; and among the first of them Tut-'ankh-Amon, as whose viceroys of the south we find the same Hi and Amenhotep, who had already held that office under Amenhotep III. It is only under king Ai that we find a new governor, of the same name, Ai, whose son Amenape afterwards, under Seti I., takes the place of his father.

The succession of the kings, to whose combined reigns there was allotted a very short time, scarcely the length of a single generation, is as follows:—Sa'a-nekht, Tut-'ankh-Amon, Ai, Horemhib.

SA'A-NEKHT,

the husband of the princess Mer-aten, disappeared quickly from the stage of history. His successor,

TUT-'ANKH-AMON,

'the living image of Amon,' the royal husband of the third daughter of Khunaten, 'Ankh-nes-Amon, has, on the contrary, had his memory preserved by one of the most remarkable representations in the sepulchral chamber of a Theban contemporary.[1]

This shows us the king on his throne, holding a public court, in presence of his two governors of the south,

[1] Compare *Denkmäler*, III., 115, the tomb of Qurnat Murray.

Hi and Amenhotep. The richly laden ships, which contain the tributes and presents of the negro peoples, have come to land at the soil of Thebes. A negro queen herself has not been ashamed to appear in person on this distinguished scene. She is introduced on a chariot drawn by oxen, surrounded by her servants, who, as once the queen of Saba did to the wise Solomon, lay the rich gifts and presents of their dusky mistress at the feet of the Pharaoh, naturally to his great delight and that of all his court.

As if to heighten their joy, there appear at the same time from the distant north, the ruddy princes of the land of Ruthen, in rich dresses, with their black hair elegantly curled, to offer to the king the costly and beautiful works of their country as an expression of their peaceful disposition and their respect.

A large and lively picture of the manners and the riches of the south and of the north in the fifteenth century before Christ is here displayed before our eyes. The Egyptians of the time have added to it as a superscription the words:—'Arrival of the tributes for the lord of the land, which the miserable Ruthen offer under the leadership of the (Egyptian) royal ambassadors to all countries, the king's son of Kush, and the governor of the south, Amenhotep.'

Above the princes of Ruthen stand the following significant words:—

'These kings of the land of Upper-Ruthen knew nothing of Egypt, till the time of the godlike (meaning the king). They beg for peace from the king speaking thus: "Grant us freedom out of thy hand.

Indescribable are thy victories and no enemy appears in thy time. All lands rest in peace."'

Above the costly gifts of the princes (among them being horses), which are brought by red-bearded servants, of a light colour and an almost dwarf-like build, stands the following explanatory inscription :—

'This is the best selection of all sorts of vessels of their land, in silver, gold, blue-stone, green-stone, and all kinds of jewels.'

Of the tributes and presents of the negroes, on the other hand, it is said :—

'This is the arrival of the splendid Ethiopian tributes, the best selection of the productions of the land of the south, and their landing in Thebes under the conduct of the king's son of Kush, Hiu.'

The northern presents, in themselves precious from their peculiar materials, have a still higher value from the artistic character of their treatment in form and in ornament, which often suggests to us the hand of the Greek artist. They exhibit in pictures what the great table of victory of Thutmes III. repeatedly describes in words. Under the guidance of the richly endowed Phœnicians, the Khaloo, or Kharoo, who, besides their commerce, had so remarkable a genius for handicrafts and for art, the eastern coast of the 'inner sea' had long ago formed a school of high culture, which not only had the skill to make what was necessary and useful, but also to create beauty in pleasing forms. In the course of trade, the artistic products of Phœnicia found an entrance and a sale in all parts of the then known world, and served as patterns, the

value of which was willingly acknowledged, above all by the enlightened people of Egypt. The exhibition of the Phœnician works of art before the eyes of the astonished Pharaoh remains therefore for all times a precious contribution to the history of the oldest Phœnician school of art.

If it may be allowed us, on the other hand, with equal certainty, to pass a judgment on the condition of culture and of handicraft in the lands of the negroes in the fifteenth century B.C., from the coloured representations of these sepulchral chambers, a knowledge of which was acquired to science from the Prussian expedition to Egypt under Lepsius, it becomes evident that here also—in spite of a peculiar direction of taste, which is seen, among other things, in furnishing the tips of the horns of the oxen with ornaments like the hands of men—a certain artistic spirit is observable in the composition and in the execution of the outward forms of the utensils. Passing over for a moment the costly golden vessels, set with precious stones—the manifold utensils of domestic life, the chariots, the ships, the weapons, and all the articles which the queen brings to Thebes—all these exhibit an unmistakable development of artistic power, which must without doubt be ascribed on the one hand to Egyptian influence, and on the other to the natural position of the so-called savage tribes, and to their powers of imitation. Even at this day, the prejudice that the negro is, both in taste and in art, an unprogressive son of Adam, can be refuted by hundreds of facts which prove the direct contrary in an incontrovertible manner,

in favour of our coloured brethren. As representative of Modern Egypt at the two universal exhibitions, at Vienna in 1873, and at Philadelphia in 1876, I had the much desired opportunity of exhibiting the most wonderful works in gold and silver, as examples of the finished artistic skill of the peoples of the Soodan, and of receiving prizes for the black artists.

Tut-'ankh-Amon, whose very name already serves for a proof that he had thrown aside the new teaching of his royal father-in-law about the one living sun's disk, reigned in Thebes with the consent of the corporation of the priests of Amon. By a brilliant external pomp, he seems to have obtained the power and commanded the respect, which were denied him on account of his birth and marriage. Still for all this he remained an illegitimate pretender, to whom, in the eyes of the priests of Amon, the full pharaonic blood was wanting. His reign too did not last long. The throne became vacant; the female line of King Khunaten, the heretic, had left no descendants; and so by stratagem or by force the fallen reins of the chariot of the empire were seized by Khunaten's former master of the horse,

'THE HOLY FATHER' AI.

King Khun-aten had been suckled by a nurse who, like the queen-mother, bore the name of Thi. She was married to one of the lords of the court, a 'holy father' of the highest grade, by name Ai. This connection with the king's own nurse led as a natural consequence to Ai's

mounting continually up the ladder of dignities, until he at last held the highest offices. He was named 'fan-bearer on the right-hand of the king, and superintendent of the whole stud of Pharaoh;' besides, he seems to have occupied himself with the science of law, since he was also promoted to be 'the royal scribe of justice.' Many presents did the generosity of the king bestow on the ennobled pair. 'The high nurse, the nourishing mother of the godlike one, the dresser of the king,' must of course have stood in peculiar favour; the riches of her house increased visibly, so that the inhabitants of the town were in the habit of gossiping much about it.[1] Their conversations have been faithfully handed down to us, and betoken the general astonishment of the talkative crowd.

Ai, however, appears to have been a remarkably good king for the country, and at the same time to have returned to the ancient ways prescribed for the kings by the priests of Amon, for he calls himself, 'a prince of Thebes,' and makes no more mention of the new teaching of the deceased king. On the contrary, he sacrifices to Amon and his associated gods according to the old traditional custom, and he honours the god, that is, the priests of the god, in a distinguished manner. The holy fathers appear clearly to have been supported by their former colleague on the throne, so that they allowed him to prepare for himself a tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, the narrow valley of the dead, containing the kings' tombs, in the Lybian mountain chain to the west of Thebes. His tomb, and his granite sarcophagus within it, have been preserved to the present day.

[1] Compare *Denkmäler*, III. 105 a.

Ai, on whom the official documents confer the names of honour of a 'conqueror of the Asiatics,' and of a king 'distinguished for power,' must in fact have carried on wars in the north, and have won great successes for Egypt. His acknowledged supremacy in the south is vouched for by the presents of the 'King's Son of Kush and the governor Paur,' whose memorial has been faithfully preserved beside that of the king, in the Nubian rock-grottos of Shetaui.[1] He is the father of that governor of the south, Amenemape, who, under King Seti I., exercised the same office in Nubia. This family connection, which is of great importance as bearing on the succession of the generations, gives ground for the supposition that the following kings, Horemhib, Ramses, and his son Seti I., were contemporaries, and consequently possessed the throne during a period comparatively short for each reign. This supposition is strengthened by the probability that the sister-in-law of King Khunaten, Notem-mut,[2] was no other than the princess who was later the wife of king Horemhib.

SER-KHEPRU-RA MI-AMON HOR-EM-HIB;
THE KING HORUS OF MANETHO.

Who was to be king? That was the great question after the funeral of the master of the horse.

People remembered that in Middle Egypt there still lived a man of good repute, whom, according to

[1] Compare *Denkmäler*, III. 110, c—h.

[2] Without doubt the name of this queen must be read thus, instead of 'Bent-mut,' as Lepsius gives it in his *Königsbuch*, No. 397.

all probability, Amenhotep III. had known and already honoured with his confidence. His right to the throne of Pharaoh was but slightly founded, since it rested only on his marriage with the sister of queen Nofri-Thi, the high lady Notem-mut, who has been already mentioned. But another helper stood by this true servant of his lord, and that was the god Horus, under whose protection the future heir to the throne lived in quiet retirement, and mindful of past times, at the town of Ha-suten, that is, 'the house of the king.'

This place stood on the right side of the river, and formed the capital of the eighteenth nome of Upper Egypt, on the southern boundary of which lay the territory of the Cynopolitan nome, with its capital Kasa (Cynopolis): on the north it bordered on the nineteenth nome, with its capital Pimaza, the Oxyrhynchus of the ancients. Both districts were on the west side of the river, nearly opposite to the nome of Hasuten, or 'the royal city.' The monuments give a second name to the city, under the designation of Ha-benu, 'The Phœnix city;' it is the Hipponon of the Greek travellers in Egypt, the Alabastrônpolis (alabaster-city) of the geographer Ptolemy.

All the proofs which I have diligently collected, with regard to the position of this place, lead to the conclusion that it must be sought in the neighbourhood of the city of Khu-aten, behind which rich alabaster quarries lie open in the mountains, if it be not the city of Khu-aten itself.

The future heir to the throne bore the name of

Horemhib. As to how he obtained it, we will allow his own memorial in Turin to speak for itself.[1]

Respecting the elevation of Horemhib to be king on the throne of Pharaoh we possess a very remarkable document in a long inscription of twenty-six lines, handing down to posterity information which is, in many respects, full of importance concerning his past history before his accession to the throne.

The document begins, like others of the same kind, with a description of the youth of the future king. 'While he was yet carried as a suckling in arms, both old and young touched (*i.e.*, bowed down to) the ground before him.' His tutelar god, Hor of Ha-suten, had intended him for great things. 'He knew the day of his good fortune, to grant to him his kingdom, for this god made his son great in the sight of mortals, and he willed to prolong his career till the arrival of the day on which he should receive his office (as king).'

Horemhib was next presented to the then living Pharaoh. 'And he enraptured the heart of the king, who was contented because of his qualities, and rejoiced because of his choice. And he named him as Ro-hir (guardian) of the kingdom, until he should attain to the title of a son as crown prince of this land, as it is and remains, he alone without a rival.' In this office, which was accorded to him as guardian or epitropos of the land, Horemhib fulfilled the duties of his calling as councillor to the king to his entire

[1] So far as I know, I here give for the first time the full translation of this important document.—(The inscription has been since translated by Dr. Birch in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 29, fol.—ED.)

satisfaction. 'For (he contented the) inhabitants of Egypt by the decisions of his mouth. And he was called to the royal court, so that he was set free from distress. He opened his mouth and gave answer to the king, and consoled him by the utterances of his mouth. So that he was the sole benefactor, like none (other beside him).' In such a way did he conduct himself, 'who took pleasure in justice alone, which he carried' in his heart, to stand in the same grade with the gods Thut and Ptah. 'In all his deeds and ways he followed their path, and they were his shield and his protection on earth to all eternity.'

A step of dignity awaited him. Like Joseph formerly at the court of Pharaoh, so he also was named the Adon of the land. 'When he had now been raised to be Adon during the space of many years,' as a consequence of his fortunate administration, every kind of distinction was showered upon him. 'The distinguished men at the court bowed themselves before him outside at the door of the palace. And the kings of the nine foreign nations of the south and of the north came before him, and stretched out their hands at his approach, and praised his soul, as if he had been God. Then all was done that was appointed to be done, under the orders which he (gave).' Thus 'his authority was greater than that of the king in the sight of mortals, and all wished him prosperity and health. He punished the guilty (?), and bestowed prosperity on men.'

We are now approaching great events in the life of the destined king, since, 'After this the eldest son of Hor was raised from the dignity of a viceroy to

be the crown-prince of the land. Then had this noble god, Hor of Alabastrônpolis, the desire in his heart to place his son upon his throne for evermore. And (this noble god) Amon gave command that they should conduct the god Hor, with joyful shouts, to Thebes, the eternal city, and his son on his breast, to Ape; to bring him in with festivity before Amon, to deliver to him his royal office, and to establish it for the term of his life. Then they were all full of joy during his splendid festival in Ape of the south country; and they beheld this god Hor, the lord of Alabastrônpolis, in company with his son, in the coronation procession, that he might bestow upon him his office and his throne. Then was Amon-Ra moved with joy. And he beheld (the king's daughter . . .), and wished to unite her with himself. And behold! he brought her to this prince, the crown-prince Horemhib. And he went into the palace, and he placed him before him, on the exalted place (of the throne) of his glorious distinguished daughter. (And she) bowed herself, and embraced his pleasant form, and placed herself before him. And all the divinities of the chamber of fire were full of ecstasy at his coronation: Nekheb, Buto, Neith, Isis, Nephthys, Horus, Seth, the whole circle of the gods on the exalted place, (raised) their song of praise to the height of heaven, and there was joy because of the grace of Amon. After this there was an interval of rest. Then went Amon with his son before him, to the hall of kings, to set his royal helmet[1] on his head, and to lengthen his term of life, as it

[1] The *pshent* or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt.

should in fact be. (Then the gods cried out), "We are assembled; we will to invest him with his kingdom; we will to bestow upon him the royal attire of the sun-god Ra; we will to praise Amon in him. Thou hast brought him to us, to protect us. Give him the thirty years' festivals of the sun-god Ra, and the days of Hor as king. Let him be one who does that which is pleasing to thy heart in Ape, and likewise in On (Heliopolis), and in Memphis: let it be he who rules in these places." And the great name of this godlike one was settled, and his title recorded, corresponding to the holiness of the sun-god, as follows:—

'1. As HOR, the powerful bull, firm with hand and counsel,
2. As LORD OF THE DOUBLE CROWN, great from his wonderful works in Ape,
3. As GOLDEN-HOR, who supports himself on justice, the upholder of the land,
4. As KING SER-KHEPRU-RA, who is elected by the sun-god,
5. As the SON OF RA, Miamoon Horemhib.
May he live for ever.

'Then came forth from the palace the holiness of this splendid god Amon, the king of the gods, with his son before him, and he embraced his pleasant form, which was crowned with the royal helmet, in order to deliver to him the golden protecting image of the sun's disk. The nine foreign nations were under his feet, the heaven was in festive disposition, the land was filled with ecstasy, and as for the divinities of Egypt, their souls were full of pleasant feelings. Then the inhabitants, in high delight, raised towards heaven the song of praise; great and small lifted up their voices, and the whole land was moved with joy.

'After this festival in Ape of the southern country was finished, then went Amon, the king of the gods, in peace to Thebes, and the king went down the river on board of his ship, like an image of Hormakhu. Thus had he taken possession of this land, as was the custom since the time of the sun-god Ra. He renewed the dwellings of the gods, from the shallows of the marsh-land of Nathu as far as Nubia. He had all their images sculptured, each as it had been before, more than . . . And the sun-god Ra rejoiced, when he beheld (that renewed) which in former times had been destroyed. He set them up in their temple, and he had a hundred images made, one for each of them, of like form, and of all kinds of costly stones. He visited the cities of the gods, which lay as heaps of rubbish in this land, and he had them restored just as they had been from the beginning of all things. He took care for their daily festival of sacrifice, and for all the vessels of their temples, formed out of gold and silver. He provided them (the temples) with holy persons and singers, and with the best of the body-guards; and he presented to them arable land and cattle, and supplied them with all kinds of provisions which they required, to sing thus each new morning to the sun-god Ra: "Thou hast made the kingdom great for us in thy son, who is the consolation of thy soul, king Horemhib. Grant him the continuance of the thirty years' feasts, give him the victory over all countries, as to Hor, the son of Isis, towards whom in like manner thy heart yearned in On, in the company of thy circle of gods."'

This document, the age of which is not less than thirty-three centuries, needs from us no elucidation. It would only weaken the impression of these noble words, if we permitted ourselves to dwell in explanation on the facts imparted to us.

What, however, we must call attention to, is the complete silence with which the late king Ai is passed over. The passage is also obscure, in which mention is made of 'the daughter'—in all probability his heiress daughter—who had taken refuge in the temple of Amon. We suppose that it was the later royal wife, Notem-Mut, whose dependence on the godhead of Amon the priests wished to reward by a marriage with Horemhib.

After the newly-elected king had mounted the vacant throne with a grand ceremonial at Thebes, where, as the inscription informs us, he was crowned according to prescription and usage, in the temple of the empire at Ape, his first work consisted in the enlargement and beautifying of this temple.

To this end, the works of the heretic king, Khun-aten, who had devised the plan of raising to his one god, Aten, in the city of Amon, a gigantic obelisk, called a Ben-Ben, crowned with the globe of the Sun, were at once destroyed, and the blocks of stone, which still in part bore their inscriptions, were broken up. They were used for the building of the fourth pylon, on the south side of the great temple of Amon in Ape.

A second pylon was added, both being connected by walls with a large court; and in front of the outermost gate an avenue of sphinxes were set up to the

honour of Amon, in the name of Horemhib. Thus the god could with full justice address the king in the words of the inscription at the first (the most southern) pylon.

'Thus speaks Amon-Ra, the king of the gods: Splendid is the monument which thou hast erected for me, O Hor, thou wise king; my heart rejoices in thy love. I am enchanted with the view of thy memorial. Therefore we grant thee a life as long as the sun, and the years of Hor as king of the land.'

The entrances to this gate were also adorned with statues of the king. The eastern side wall also received a series of sculptures, which were intended to call to remembrance the supremacy of the king over the land of Pun or Punt. The princes of this land appear before the king, to whom they present a number of heavy sacks filled with gold; and the words are added:—

'Hail to thee, King of Egypt, sun of the nine foreign nations! By thy name! we did not know Egypt. Our fathers never trod it. Present us with freedom out of thy hand. We will be thy subjects.'

In fact, Horemhib seems to have paid particular attention to the south, and to have undertaken an expedition against the Soodan in person. An inscription in the rock temple built by him at Silsilis, on the left bank of the river, certifies to us this campaign and the victories which he won.

I cannot describe the pictures which have reference to these events better than in the words of Champollion, who first explained to a curious world their real meaning.

'The Pharaoh'—says the founder of the science of Egyptian archæology—'is represented standing, with his battle-axe on his shoulder. He receives from Amon-Ra the emblem of divine life, and power to subdue the north and to conquer the south. Beneath lie Ethiopians, some prostrate on the ground, others stretching forth their hands in prayer to an Egyptian leader, who, according to the inscription, upbraids them with having shut their hearts to wisdom, and with refusing to hear when it was said to them, "Behold the lion who has fallen upon the land of Kush."'

The victorious king is carried on a throne by his generals, accompanied by the fan-bearers. Servants clear the road by which the procession is to pass; behind Pharaoh appear warriors, who lead with them the hostile generals as prisoners; other warriors, with shields on their shoulders, put themselves in motion, with the trumpeters at their head. A troop of Egyptian officers, priests, and other officials, receive the king, and do homage to him.

The legend in hieroglyphics explains this representation as follows:—

'The divine benefactor returns home after he has subdued the princes of all countries. His bow is in his hand, as if he were the (god of war Monthu) the lord of Thebes. The powerful glorious king leads the princes of the miserable land of Kush with him. The king returns home from Ethiopia with the booty which he has taken by force, as his father Amon had commanded him.'

The song of the poor captive negroes we have already laid before our readers at page 289.

In the tomb of a distinguished official of the time

(at Qurnah), we see a picture of the entrance of the booty of the Soodan bodily before our eyes. Short and pithy is the inscription above it: 'Reception of the silver, gold, ivory, and ebony into the treasure-house.'

But not only did Horemhib remember the god Amon and his family of gods of Thebes in his buildings and in presents to the temples: the Memphian Ptah also received his full share of the benefactions of the king. An inscription found in Thebes tells us this as follows:[1]

'In the first year, in the month Khoiahk, on the 22nd day, of King Horemhib, the day of the feast of the Memphian Ptah in Thebes, on his festival, the sacrifices were arranged for this god according to the command of the king.'

That Horemhib knew how to reward his followers, is testified by the picture and inscription on the grave of his faithful servant, the priest Nofer-hotep, in the Necropolis of Thebes. The words of the inscription tell us when and how this took place, as follows:—

'In the 3rd year, under the reign of the king of Egypt, Horemhib, His Holiness showed himself comparably to the sun-god Ra, in his own sepulchre, for the purpose of making an offering of bread to his father Amon. As he came out from the Golden Chamber, cries of joy sounded through the whole region, and the shout rose up heavenward. Then was the holy father of Amon, Nofer-hotep, summoned to receive the king's thousandfold gracious rewards, in all manner of presents, consisting of silver and gold, stuffs, fine oils, bread and drinks, flesh and condiments. According to the command of my (or, his) lord Amon, the rewards were presented to me (or, him) in the most exalted presence by the chief singer of Amon, Hotep-ab.

[1] The inscription is given in Mariette's *Karnak*, Plate 47 d.

'Noferhotep speaks thus: "One rich (in —) makes acknowledgment by presents. So is the god, the king of the gods, who acknowledges him that acknowledges Him, and rewards him that works for Him, and protects him that serves Him."'[1]

What further might be related of Horemhib is known only to the perished and destroyed monuments of his time, or to those which have escaped my attention, down to the indistinctly inscribed pieces of limestone and potsherds.

Among the latter we must reckon a very remarkable fragment in the British collections,[2] on which the following statements have been written in black colour by an unknown writer in relation to the times of King Horemhib:

'In the 7th year of King Horemhib, that was the day of the conveying of the people of Hai my father to the abodes of the dead. The burgomaster of the city (that is Thebes), Thutmesu, had assigned the burial-places, which are situated at the Necropolis which belongs to the territory of Pharaoh; and he granted the tomb of Amon to Hai my father for appropriation. It was, namely, Qa-an . . . . my mother, his daughter by birth, and he left behind no male offspring; all his places would thus have remained deserted afterwards.

'In the 21st year, on the first day of the month Paoni, they stood before Amenhotep, (and I) spake to him: "Grant to every one the abodes (tombs) that came from their fathers!" Then he gave me the abodes (tombs) of Hai by a writing, and so I came into their full possession.'

However indistinct this formless piece of limestone may be, still it appears valuable from its historical

[1] I first published the inscription now quoted in my *Recueil de Monum. Egypt.*, tome i. pl. 37. The translation of the inscription given by M. Pierret in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie Egypt. et Assyr.*, tome ii. p. 196, seems to me to need correction in several passages.

[2] See British Museum, 'Egyptian Inscriptions,' No. 5624.

testimony, that Horemhib exceeded the twenty-first year of his reign. For that this date, and the following name Amenhotep, do not relate to the reign of a king Amenhotep, as Dr. Birch assumes, is evident from the whole context of the document. The inscription simply bears witness to the good right of the unknown author, the son of Hai, and grandson of the burgomaster of Thebes, Thutmesu, to a particular burial-place, as an introduction to a petition for its preservation against some later disturbance of his possession.

We have here a fresh example before our eyes, how even old stones and potsherds, with inscriptions which relate to the business of ordinary life, may by their incidental notices have a very special value for historical research.

With this remark we will close our observations on the Pharaoh Horemhib and his time, and turn to a new dynasty in the records of the Egyptian empire.

APPENDIX.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE REIGN OF THUTMES III.

YEAR	EVENTS.
1	On 4th Pachons: Accession.
	(NOTE.—*All the ensuing regnal years date from this day of the month.*)
2	On 2nd Payni: Restoration of the temple-fortress of Semne (p. 394).
3–4	. . . . .
5	On 1st Thoi: Date of a papyrus at Turin.
6–15	. . . . .
16	On 1st Mechir: Beginning of the erection of Hashop's obelisk (p. 314).
	On 27th Pachons: Institution of the sacrifice to Amon (p. 378).
	On 30th Mesori: Completion of the obelisk, after seven months' work (p. 405).
	Inscription at Sarbut-et-Khadem of the time of the joint reign of Thutmes III. and his sister Hashop (p. 406).
17–21	. . . . .
22	Restoration of the statues of Amenhotep I. and Thutmes I. (pp. 388–9).
	On *x* Pharmuthi: Opening of his First Campaign (pp. 320, 359).
23	On 4th Pachons: Thutmes III. in Gaza (p. 321).
	On 21st Pachons: New moon (p. 324).
24	On 30th Mechir: Laying of the foundation-stone of a temple at Thebes (pp. 383–4).
25	Inscription at Sarbut-et-Khadem (p. 406).
	The King's Second Campaign (p. 368, comp. 359).
26–28	Campaigns III., IV. (p. 359).
29	Campaign V. (p. 359).
30–40	Campaigns VI.–XV.: one in each year (pp. 359–330).
41	. . . . .
42	On 22nd Thoth: Restoration of the statue of Thutmes I. (p. 388).
43–46	. . . . .
47	The Temple at Heliopolis enclosed by a wall (p. 404).
48–50	. . . . .
51	On 5th Payni: Dedicatory Inscription at Ellesieh (pp. 394–5).
52, 53	. . . . .
54	On 30th Phamenoth: Death of Thutmes III., after a reign of 53 years, 11 months and 1 day (pp. 316, 317).

OBELISKS OF THUTMES III. AT HELIOPOLIS.

(Note to p. 406.)

One of the obelisks set up by Thutmes III. at Heliopolis has a special interest for English readers. Besides the largest pair mentioned by Dr. Brugsch, now at Constantinople and Rome, a smaller pair were transported to Alexandria under Tiberius, and set up in front of Cæsar's temple, where they obtained the well-known name of 'Cleopatra's Needles.' One of them still stands in its place; the other, after lying prostrate for centuries in the sand, was presented to England by Mehemet Ali Pasha in 1820 as a memorial of the famous Egyptian campaign of 1801. But the intention of transporting it to England was only fulfilled in 1878 by the munificence of the eminent surgeon Mr. Erasmus Wilson, and the persevering enterprise of Mr. John Dixon, C.E., and it is now erected on the Thames Embankment. Its height is 68 ft. 5 in. (less 3½ inches cut off from the broken end to give the base an even surface). The hieroglyphs on two of its faces express the titles of Thutmes III.; on the other two Ramses II. has added his own; illustrating Dr. Brugsch's remark on the official pomp, devoid of historical information, which is the usual substance of the inscriptions on Egyptian obelisks. The inscriptions have been translated by Dr. Birch; and a full account of the obelisk, from its cutting out of the quarries at Syene to its adventurous voyage across the Bay of Biscay, has been published by Mr. Erasmus Wilson, and in Mr. Dixon's paper, illustrated with plans, in the 'Proceedings of the Royal United Service Institution.' The very similar inscriptions of Thutmes III. and Ramses II. on the other obelisk, still standing at Alexandria, are translated by M. Chabas in the 'Records of the Past,' Vol. X. pp. 21, foll.—Ed.

ADDITIONS TO VOL. I.

INCLUDING ALL THOSE MADE BY DR. BRUGSCH SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE GERMAN WORK.

N.B.—To assist reference, observe that there are 31 lines in an ordinary page of the book.

P. 58, near end. Add Note on the name 'Sochem': 'The Letopolis of the Greeks and Romans, still called by the Copts Ushem, after its old name.

P. 71, l. 1-3: Add the following note:—The British Ordnance Survey, under Captains Wilson and Palmer, in 1868-9, determined the base of the Great Pyramid with great precision at 9120 inches = 760 feet, which unquestionably represent 500 Egyptian cubits, or 750 Egyptian (and Greek) feet, of which 6000 are equal to 1′ of a great circle of the earth, that is, to a geographical mile. The bases of the second and third pyramids were squares respectively of 700 and 350 Egyptian (or Greek) feet. (See the invaluable *Notes on the Great Pyramid of Egypt and the Cubits used in its Design*, by Col. Sir Henry James, 2nd edit., 1869), in which also a few words of common sense dispose of a mass of nonsense about the Pyramid.—ED.

P. 105, note [3]. *Add*: 'The measure here given (= 20·66966 inches) is that of the *royal cubit*, which Sir Henry James determines as 20·699 (practically 20·7) inches. The *common cubit*, used in the construction of the pyramids, was equal to 18·2415 (nearly $18\frac{1}{4}$) inches.—ED.

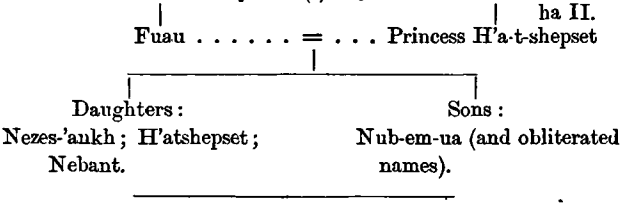
P. 111, l. 26. *After* 'Pharaohs,' *insert*: 'The remaining traces of this king's tomb have been discovered by Mariette-Bey under the name of Drah-abu-'l-neggah at Thebes. In the interior of a brick pyramid is found a simple chamber with a memorial-stone dated in the 50th year of the reign of King Anentef 'ao (i.e. 'the Great'), the inscriptions and paintings on which have been fully publishedby Dr. Birch in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (Vol. IV., 1875, pp. 172, foll.). The lower part of the king's image is well preserved. At his feet stand four pet dogs, bearing the following names: (1) Behekoa, surnamed

Mahet, (2) Abaqer, (3) Pehetes, surnamed Kemu, (4) Tegal surnamed Uhat-Khenfet.'

P. 138. Add to Note: 'In Champollion's *Notices descriptives*—by the publication of which in a complete and corrected form, at the suggestion of the late Viscount E. de Rougé, the French Government has again done good service to the study of Egyptian antiquity—the same inscription is described, in the form in which Champollion had the opportunity of seeing and reading it in Egypt (vol. ii. p. 693). He made out clearly the following names: Huu, Kas, I. . . . , Shemik, Khesea, Sheat, A-kherkin, Uau, Khe . . . , Amau.'

P. 144, l. 12. *After* 'Memphis' *insert*: 'I interpret the inscription as follows: "I was an intelligent servant, great in the works, pleasing as a palm-tree. My lord gave me a commission grandly conceived, to erect for him the lofty long-enduring place of his sepulchre. It was to be conspicuous on all sides from every point of view, corresponding to the excellency of the divine one (*i.e.* the king). Columns were cut to support the roof, and a canal was dug, to let in the water of the river.[1] The gates and all the *Tekhenen* (?) of the roof were of bright shining stone of Troja. The god Osiris of the West was full of joy because of the monuments (of my lord). I myself was full of joy, and my soul was delighted at my achievement.'

P. 147, l. 5. *Add*: 'On a memorial tablet in the Egyptian Museum at Boulaq this queen's name appears again in the following pedigree:—



[1] Compare Herod. ii. 124. '[Cheops] made the subterranean chambers [under his pyramid] for his own tomb on an island, making a canal to it from the Nile.' And further, c. 127, of the pyramid of Cephren: 'For it neither has subterranean chambers beneath it, nor is there a canal flowing into it from the Nile, as into the other; for (in the latter) it flows in through a channel

P. 161, l. 3. *Add Note*: 'The second inscription, of the 16th year of the king's reign, is given in the Appendix C., Vol. II., p. 322.'

P. 172, l. 17. Add the new paragraph: 'The highest date, of the 44th year, is found on the memorial inscription of a certain Sebek-hir-hib, son of Hont, found at Sarbat-el-Khadem (Champollion, *Notices Descript.* vol. ii. p. 691). The deceased relates how he had opened new mines for the king, and had on that occasion offered rich sacrifices to the tutelar goddess of the place, 'Hathor, the lady of Mafkat.' In the 42nd year, similar works had been performed by another official, named Sebekhotep, as we learn from an inscription in the Wady Maghara.'

P. 174, l. 9. Add: The proper names compounded with Sebek become constantly more frequent towards the end of the 12th Dynasty, and prepare us for the many kings named Sebekhotep in the 13th Dynasty.

P. 210, l. 12. *Add*: 'The most remarkable of all is the name 'Akber, which is the Hebrew עכבר "mouse," borne (among others) by the father of a king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 38, Achbor in A.V.) The Egyptian referred to is called "the gate-keeper 'Akber, surnamed R'ameses" (Lieblein, *Eigennamen*, No. 952).'

P. 221, l. 27. Append the following Note: 'The name of the Char, which occurs also in the Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions as the designation of a people and country, is undoubtedly connected with the Semitic root *âchur* or *âchor*, which signifies "back or hinder side, behind and backwards," and hence also the west quarter of a region, in opposition to *qädäm*, the "front side, the East side." As is well known, the Semitic nations used to turn the face to the East, the quarter of the rising sun, and accordingly they called the East the "front side," the West the "hinderside," the South the "right" (yanun), and the North the "left" (shemol, shamel). In opposition to all this, the ancient Egyptians regarded the Western side as the *right* (unim), the Eastern as the *left* (*semah*, whence the word Asmach, cited by Herodotus as meaning "those who stand on the king's left hand"). Accordingly they turned the face to the South, which they used to call "upwards" (hir) or "forwards"

(or tunnel) lined with masonry (διὰ οἰκοδομημένου αὐλῶνος), and forms an island, in which they say that Cheops lies buried.'

(khhont), so that the North lay at their back, and hence its appellation of the "lower" (khir) or "hinder" (pehu) region. Now, having regard to all this, the appellation of Char, in the sense of "hinder land" could only have originated with such peoples as had their fixed abodes to the East of the land of Char, that is, on the banks of the Euphrates. Thus Babel and its famous tower appear unmistakably as the great centre whence the directions of the abodes of nations were estimated in the earliest antiquity.'

P. 238, l. 14. The name *Ra-aa-ab-taui* is now read *Ra-aa-qenen* by Dr. Brugsch, who adds the following Note: 'After repeated and careful examinations of the names of King Apopi, as I possess them in impressions of the monument of San (Tanis), and of the dedicatory tablet of Boulaq, I have become almost sure of the reading *qenen* instead of *ab-taui* in the name in the first cartouche, Ra-aa-qenen (or, qen). This fact is most remarkable, as among the immediate (native) predecessors of King Aahmes (the first of Dynasty XVIII.), the third Taa (see p. 245) bore the same name "Ao-" or "Aa-qen" (Aa-genen), only with the difference, that this appellation is appended to the family name Taa, whereas with the name of Apopi it stands in the first cartouche.'

P. 254, *sub fin. Add note*: 'Compare Lieblein, *Namen-Wörterbuch*, No. 553, p. 183.'

P. 294, end. *Add*: 'Long before the heroes of the Iliad and Odyssey appear on the battlefield in their ornamental armour, the kings and "Marinas" of the land of Canaan careered in brazen harness on their costly war-chariots over the plains of Sinear and Mesopotamia and the valleys of Palestine, to measure themselves in battle with the warriors of Egypt, and to wrestle for the palm of victory.'

P. 304, l. 25. *Add note*: The pictures are described and the inscriptions are translated by Professor Dümichen, under the title of "Conquest of Arabia Felix," in the *Records of the Past*, vol. x., pp. 11, foll.—ED.

P. 347, l. 8. Add the note: 'Compare Plates 43 and 44 of my *Recueil*, vol. i., and the explanations annexed, p. 52, etc.'

P. 359. The lists of campaigns of Thutmes III.: compare the fuller 'Chronological Summary of the Reign of Thutmes III.' (p. 475).

P. 405, l. 11. After 'Thutmes' insert: 'That Thutmes III. did in fact adorn the city of the Sun (On, Heliopolis) with obelisks, is proved by the two at Alexandria, commonly called 'Cleopatra's Needles,' the most ancient inscriptions on which boast of this king as their erecter. The overthrown needle (which has now been removed to England, see p. 476) bears in one of the four middle rows the following, among its other inscriptions, "King Thutmes III. has caused this monument to be executed in remembrance of his father, the god Hormakhu (*i.e.*, Helios, the Sun). He has had two great obelisks set up to him with a point of gilt copper." On the other sides the names of the city of On and its Phœnix-temple (Ha-bennu) are expressly mentioned.'

CORRECTIONS TO VOL. I.

INCLUDING THOSE MADE BY DR. BRUGSCH SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE GERMAN WORK.

P. 32*, l. 20. *For* 'twenty-five' *read* 'twenty-four.'

Page 41, line 4. *For* 'is' *read* 'was.'

P. 49, l. 11. *After* 'his Holiness,' *read thus*: 'and briefly, but not less respectfully, by a word equivalent to our "one," that is HE, meaning the King.'

P. 62, l. 22. *Read*: 'improvements in painting the written characters.'

P. 63, l. 24. *For* 'row' *read* 'series.'

P. 64, l. 6, foll. *Read thus*: 'The usage of ancient times required that, after the name of each king, the expressive name of his pyramid should stand as a special memorial, as if for the better distinction of the prince, for whom the tomb seemed the sole pledge of lasting fame.'

P. 84, last 4 lines. *Read thus*: 'At all events, one thing appears certain, that Mencheres the Pious rendered full homage to the devout faith of his age, and diligently studied the religious books.'

P. 89, end, to p. 90, line 2. *For* 'There is ... *to* ... pyramids,'

read: 'Without doubt Ranuser rested in the olden time in its sepulchral chamber.'

P. 102, near end. *For* 'has latterly put forth,' &c., *read*, 'appears to us to have established the right view by his hypothesis that the cycle of 30 vague years served to regulate, according to a fixed rule of numbers, the coincident points of the solar and lunar years by means of a great period of 11 synodic months intercalated in the years 0, (&c., &c., as in text) of the cycle.'

P. 103, lines 1 and 8. *For* 'circle' *read* 'cycle.'

P. 105, note [3] and elsewhere. *For* 'ell' *read* 'cubit.'

P. 111, l. 28–29. *For* 'made. On, &c.' *read* 'made on, &c' and end the sentence with 'Philæ.'

P. 112, l. 3. *For* 'a place of this name' *read* 'the place so named.'

P. 123, last 2 lines. *For* 'the papyrus, &c.,' *read* 'the papyri and other works of these old times.'

P. 125, l. 30. *For* 'Oa' *read* 'Æa.'

P. 133, l. 3. *For* 'the son of Usurtasen' *read* 'his son Usurtasen.'

P. 144, l. 4. *For* '29th' *read* '20th.'

P. 146, l. 28. *For* 'In some towns of Lower Egypt,' *read* 'At Tomis in Lower Egypt.'

P. 148, No. 13. *For* 'it has raised me' *read* 'he has &c.'

P. 149, No. 55. *For* 'had overcome' *read* 'has &c.'

P. 151, l. 30. *For* 'wells' *read* 'pits.'

P. 153, l. 1. *Omit* 'and the towns.'

„ l. 4, foll. *Read thus*: 'For, on the one hand, it was a check upon the inevitable disputes about boundaries between the governors of neighbouring nomes and cities, while it also facilitated the drawing up of the written registers, which, "in the name of Pharaoh," contained an exact survey of the lands thus bounded, according &c.'

P. 155, l. 3. *For* 'changing' *read* 'vague.'

„ l. 7. *For* 'circle' *read* 'cycle.'

„ l. 13. *For* 'inappreciable' *read* 'inestimable.'

P. 156, l. 1. *For* 'the son of a prince Khnum-hotep' *read* 'the king's son, Khnum-hotep.'

P. 165, l. 13. *For* 'one of the names' *read* 'are the names.'

P. 167, l. 11. *For* 'artistic' *read* 'artificial.'

„ l. 28. *For* 'describe' *read* 'indicate.'

„ l. 29. *For* 'epoch' *read* 'height.'

P. 171, l. 26. *For* '42' *read* '44.'

P. 174, l. 26–28. *Read thus*:—'a very active commerce on the west with the Libyans, and on the east with the inhabitants' &c.

P. 175, last line. *For* 'allies' *read* 'relations.'

P. 177, l. 21. *For* 'The style &c.' *read* 'The proportions of the human form, . . . &c., . . . are somewhat broad and low; it seems . . . &c. . . . the race became thinner and more slender under the influence of the soil and climate. In the oldest monuments the imitation of nature was aimed at with greater simplicity and a truer regard for proportion.'

P. 190, l. 17. *For* '(IV. race)' *read* '(in the 4th generation on the Table).'

P. 190, Foot-note. *Read*: 'See the Genealogical Table I. at the end of Vol. II.'

P. 200, l. 4. *For* 'much desired' *read* 'much frequented.'

P. 200, l. 12, and elsewhere. *For* 'Maxyer' *read* 'Maxyes.'

P. 204, l. 17. *For* 'a pious Saga' *read* 'a religious tradition.'

P. 209, l. 25. *For* 'in another direction' *read* 'from other sources.'

P. 216, l. 28. *For* 'traditions' *read* 'statements.'

P. 219, l. 6–18. For this translation of the inscription, Dr. Brugsch directs the substitution of that given at Vol. II., p. 115, §§ 7–9.

P. 221, l. 26. *For* 'line' *read* 'rank.'

P. 222, *sub fin.* *For* 'in the eastern provinces' *read* 'on the eastern frontier.'

P. 223, l. 13. *For* 'Zoar' *read* 'Zoan.'

„ l. 18–19. *Read thus*: 'The name of the city, Zor, used as well as that of Zoan, &c.'

P. 224, l. 15. *For* 'to the north of' *read* 'northwards to.'

P. 225, l. 4–5. *For* 'obstinate servants' *read* 'rebellious subjects.'

P. 231, l. 6. *For* 'has' *read* 'loses.'

P. 232, l. 23. *For* 'the Adit,' *read* 'the son of Ad.'

„ l. 20. *For* 'derivation' *read* 'first appearance.'

P. 240, l. 13. *For* 'no' *read* 'any.'

P. 243, head-title. *Read* 'Apopi and Ra-Sekenen.'

P. 247, l. 1. *For* 'No' *read* 'No-a.'

„ l. 30. *For* 'particular' *read* 'actual.'

P. 248, § 2. *For* 'he then speaks' *read* 'speaks thus.'

P. 252, l. 8–9. *Read thus*: 'Yet we must not forestal the events.'

P. 252, last 3 lines. *For* 'had', 'was', 'decked', *read* 'has', 'is', 'decks'; and add: 'The eyelids are gilt.' (No division of paragraph).

P. 255, l. 24–25. *For* 'and they were &c.,' to 'race,' *read* 'whatever may have been the exact complexion and descent of the latter.'

P. 256, end. *Read*: 'sought by appropriate measures, &c.'

P. 257, l. 19; 20. *Read*: 'such was the system invented by the Egyptian Pharaohs.'

P. 259, l. 20. *For* 'Deuteronomy' *read* 'Exodus.'

P. 259, l. 30. *For* 'take' *read* 'add.'

P. 272, l. 12. *For* 'Egyptian' *read* 'Assyrian.'

P. 273, l. 23. *Read*: 'of their descendants, named Thut-mes, "child of Thut."'

P. 276, l. 7. *For* 'on' *read* 'or.'

P. 278, l. 9. *Read*: 'The name of king Aahmes, as a builder, has not, &c.'

P. 283, l. 9. *For* 'next' *read* 'first.'

P. 284, l. 30. *Read*: 'cataracts of Kerman, opposite the Nile-island of Tombos.'

P. 293 *sub fin.* 4. *For* 'Of such childlike simplicity, &c.' *read* 'However childlike in their simplicity may have been the pictures which they often delighted to portray upon the temple walls, or however apparently strange the descriptions which they give on their tablets of victory of what they had seen abroad, yet there always, &c,'

P. 296, l. 1, 2. *For* 'This, &c., *read* 'These tablets are expressly mentioned in the record of the victories of the latter king (see below, p. 333).'

P. 297. *Add note*: 'The names marked by an (*) are those of women.'

P. 298, l. 1. *For* 'sister,' *read* 'brother and sister.'

„ l. 9. *To* 'sister' *add* 'and wife.'

P. 300, l. 26–7. *For* 'in the thought of, &c.,' *read* 'there the queen resolved that a magnificent sepulchre should be hewn in the rock, with a temple to the dead in front of it, in memory of the princes of the royal house, &c.'

P. 301, last line. *For* 'Then,' *read* 'For.'

P. 302, l. 29. *For* 'Semnut' *read* 'Senmut.'
P. 303, l. 7, and 18. Same correction.
P. 306, l. 18. *For* 'suitable' *read* 'natural.'
P. 306, l. 20. *For* 'perhaps' *read* 'surely.'
P. 315, l. 12. *For* 'regal' *read* 'regnal.'
P. 316, l. 4 and 31. *For* 'four days' *read* 'one day.'
P. 328, lines 11 and 12, from bottom. *Read thus*:
'104 lb. 5 oz., the weight of silver in pieces of broken vessels.
'a golden helmet inlaid with blue stone.'
P. 337, l. 6. *For* 'The unpaid tribute' *read* 'The tribute imposed on.'
P. 338, l. 8. *Read*: '5 iron helmets'
P. 338, l. 21. *For* 'Skehel, Ded, Abhati,' *read* 'earrings, bracelets, marble.'
Pp. 350–351. In the list of names:—
No. 6; *add* ? after 'Helioppolis.'
No. 28; *add* '(Ashtaroth).'
No. 67; *read* Suko (Soccho).'
No. 100; *read* 'Irut (Jethir?).'
No. 102; *read* 'Iaqob-Aal.'
P. 354, § 11. *For* 'the life of the distributors' *read* 'the dispenser of life.'
P. 355, § 37. *For* 'the follower . . . . creator' *read* 'the successor . . . . parent.'
P. 356, l. 29. *For* 'traditions' *read* 'records.'
P. 365, l. 1, No. 114. *For* '4 Mos,' *read* 'Numbers.'
P. 369, l. 27, 28. *Read thus*: 'His song has outlived the ravages of time, &c.'
P. 377, l. 14. *For* 'It next reports,' *read* 'It first relates.'
„ l. 23. *For* 'ore' *read* 'bronze.'
P. 378, l. 23. *For* 'exhibition' *read* 'establishment.'
P. 381, l. 4. *After* 'him,' *read* 'earnestly declares his services to the god.'
P. 382, l. 3, 4. Dele 'of' before 'the origin,' and the comma (,) after 'king.'
P. 384, l. 4 from bottom. *For* '34' *read* '24.'
P. 392, l. 10. *For* 'inscription' *read* 'inscriptions.'
„ last paragraph, *read thus*: 'Great and victorious wars, during the long and fortunate reign of a Pharaoh, always enabled him,' &c.

P. 397, l. 28, f. *After* 'temple.' *read* 'At the general feast of the dead on the 18th and 19th of Thot, as well as at the special feasts of Osiris on the 30th of Tybi and the 3rd of Phamenoth, &c.'

P. 399, l. 2. *For* 'inlaid' *read* 'exalted.'

„ l. 12. *For* 'bath' *read* 'bark.'

„ l. 31. *For* 'expend' *read* 'offer.'

P. 402, l. 6, 7. *For* 'the triumphant Osiris' *read* 'the conqueror by help of Osiris.'

P. 404, l. 7. *For* '56–7' *read* '56·7.'

P. 406, l. 8. *For* 'pictures' *read* 'images.'

P. 408, l. 7. *For* 'it' *read* 'this.'

P. 409, l. 6. *For* 'king' *read* 'kings.'

„ l. 17. *For* 'I will give, &c.' *read* 'I pass over, as only collateral to our subject, the description, &c.'

P. 409 end, 410. *Read thus*—'without passing over the details of the endowment and the building.'

P. 411, l. 11. *For* 'Abd-el-Gurnah' *read* 'Abd-el-Qurnah.'

P. 413, l. 18. *For* 'longitude' *read* 'latitude.'

„ l. 31. *For* 'Amoo' *read* 'Anu.'

P. 429, last line. *Read* 'of his wife, Thi, and of his mother, Mut-em-ua.'

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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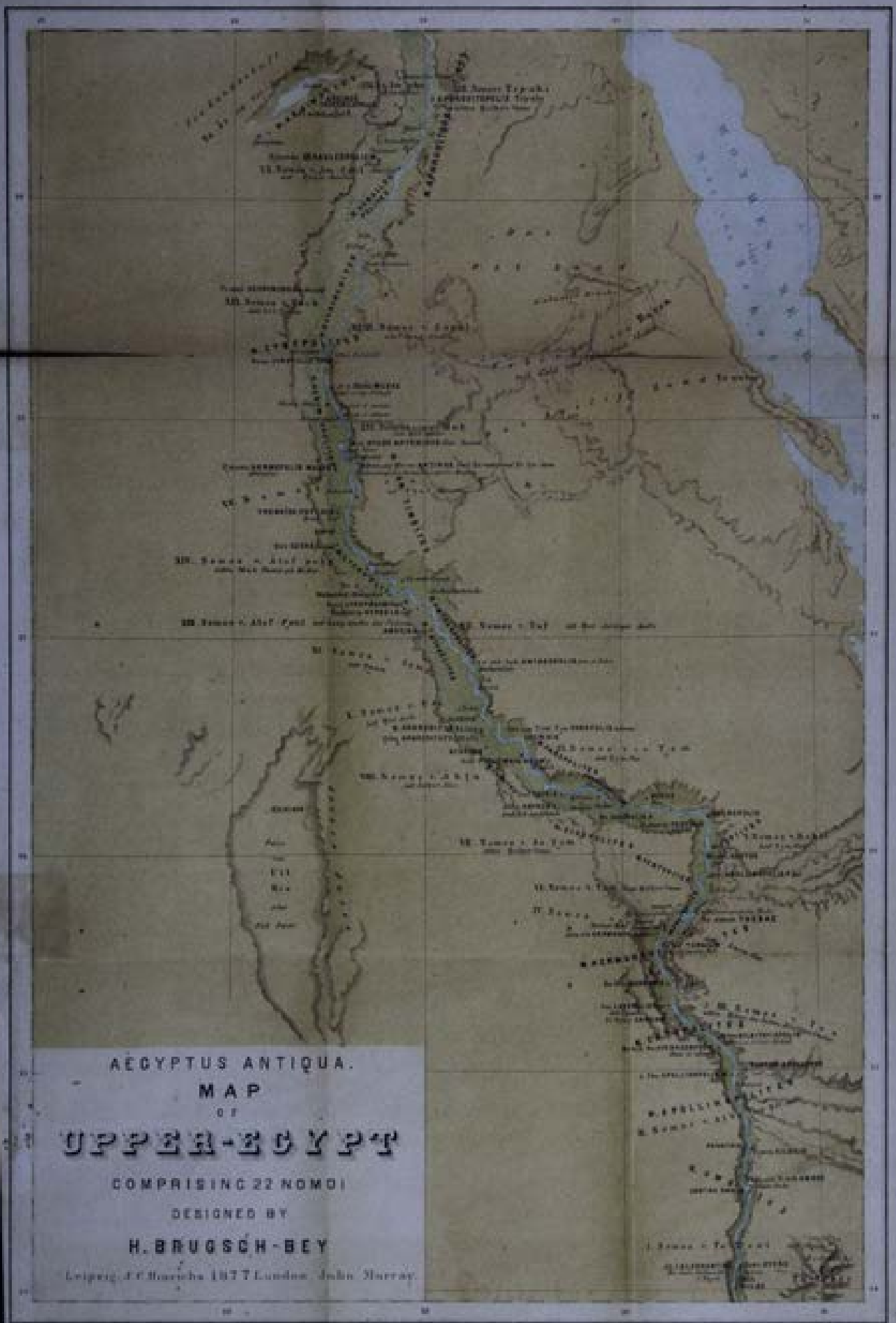

AEGYPTUS ANTIQUA.

MAP

OF

UPPER-EGYPT

COMPRISING 22 NOMOI

DESIGNED BY

H. BRUGSCH-BEY

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